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THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

1854-1904

[redacted]

Frederick Denison Maurice

WORKING [illegible] COLLEGE

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THE

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

1854—1904

RECORDS OF ITS HISTORY AND ITS WORK
FOR FIFTY YEARS, BY MEMBERS
OF THE COLLEGE

EDITED BY THE

REV. J. LLEWELYN DAVIES

WITH PORTRAITS

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PREFACE

In accordance with a general desire that the Jubilee of the Working Men's College should be marked by the publication of a volume illustrating its history, this book has been prepared by a number of representative contributors. The five still living of those who may be reckoned as founders, three of whom, Messrs. Ludlow, Dickinson, and Furnivall, are octogenarians; principals and vice-principals; teachers and students; — have combined to supply memories and descriptions which will be of special interest to those who already belong to the College, but which, we hope, will also be attractive to others who may assist in building up its future.

Our Jubilee was further commemorated by the laying of the foundation-stone of a new

home for the College. We are indebted to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales for graciously coming, with the Princess of Wales, to lay the stone, and for giving an address in which the Prince showed his appreciation of the character and aims of the founders of the College, and his warm sympathy with the efforts of its present members.

The Council and the students of the Working Men's College may draw much encouragement from the past and the present as they enter on a new cycle of its history.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

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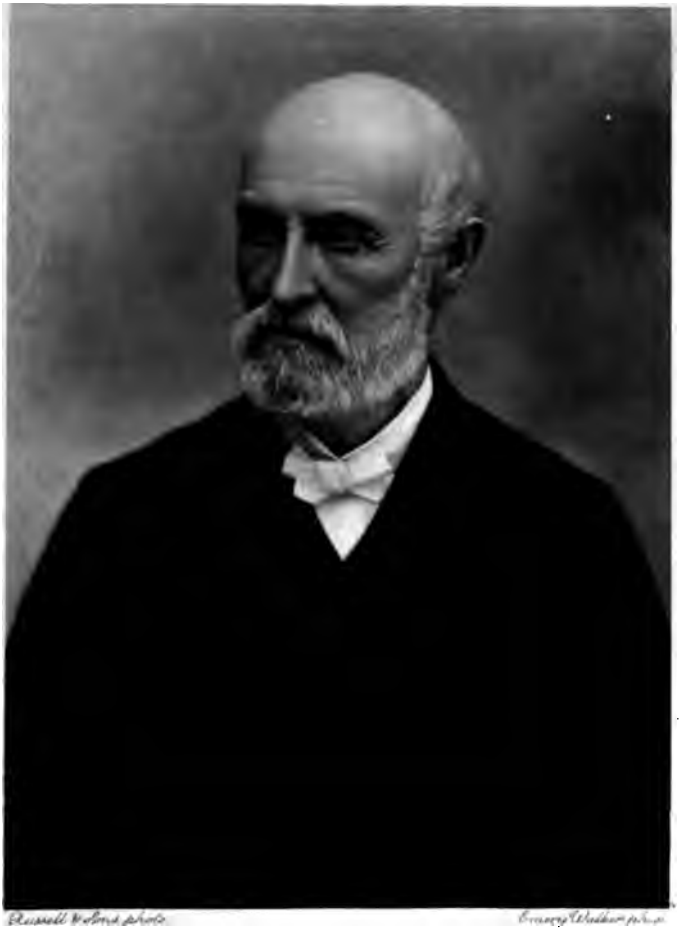

J. Llewelyn Davies

F. D. MAURICE

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F. D. MAURICE

We commonly speak of the Working Men's College as having been founded by Frederick Denison Maurice. And the assumption is substantially a true one. But the scheme of the College did not, as a matter of fact, issue independently from Maurice's mind. It grew, as Mr. Ludlow describes, out of the aims of the men—Ludlow and Hughes and Mansfield and Kingsley and others—who gathered round him in 1848. As in the case of the Christian Socialist movement, and in that of the Queen's College for Ladies, so in that of the Working Men's College, the idea may be said to have been in the air; practical suggestions were offered by one and another; but the force and the guidance which made these creations what they were came through Maurice.

The relation of those younger men to their

leader, who in 1848 was forty-three years of age, went beyond that of disciples to a master. More than any other modern thinking person, Maurice was habitually aware and conscious of a living God as working in all things. I do not think that any one has ever been more aware than he was of the contradictions and perplexities which beset the recognition of a living God; but he would not allow these to stifle his apprehension of a Divine Power speaking to individuals, moving in the societies of men, carrying the world onwards. I need hardly say that to Maurice this Divine Power was not Nature, but the Eternal Fountain of righteousness and love revealed in Jesus Christ. He believed that every man understood himself best when he regarded himself as an instrument of the purposes of the living God. No one of any sensibility could be in contact with Maurice without being moved to something of reverence towards him; but to a few he was a prophet. He himself, with all his embarrassing humility and readiness to think others as inspired as himself, yet accepted the kind of devotion with which those few looked up to him, and it gave him a new confidence and courage. He had no

opinions with which he desired to indoctrinate his disciples, but he felt that he had a witness to bear, a message to deliver. If he had any watchword, it was perhaps that of the kingdom of God. He believed that Christ had come to establish a Divine kingdom on the earth, and that the kingdom in which Christ was King was the true and actual spiritual world of men and of mankind. He felt a peculiar distrust and aversion towards "systems" and "theories" because he saw men substituting these compositions of their own minds for the voices of the living God. It is a common view of Maurice to regard him as a fervent philanthropist, too good to accept some of the religious traditions of his day, who had an interesting influence on his generation, but a nebulous and misty thinker, constitutionally incapable of seeing things clearly, and therefore a confused and confusing writer. But that is not Maurice at all. He had a mind of the rarest insight and subtlety, distinguishing with a peculiar sureness things that differed; but his mental home was amongst spiritual principles, and he was accustomed to address himself to what he took to be in the minds of his hearers or readers, below their propositions and their

arguments. He is certainly not an easy writer to follow, because he shrinks from being didactic and aims always at bearing witness, and is apt to assume that his readers are quite as well informed as himself and only need to be reminded by allusions, and seeks to touch some chord in their minds and to call out its response.

Let me be permitted to say thus much of Maurice as he was known to those who worked with him most sympathetically. To the general public up to that fateful year, 1848, he had been little known. Since 1840 he had been Professor of English Literature and Modern History in the new King's College, London; and in 1846 he had been made one of the Divinity Professors in the same college. For two years, 1839-1841, he was editor of the *Educational Magazine*. In 1847 he and other professors of King's College were led to take the important step of establishing the "Queen's College for Ladies," which has had its home from the first in Harley Street, London. The primary purpose of this college was to give instruction to those who were to teach girls. But its classes were open to others as well as governesses, and it was the pioneer of the great movement of the last half-century for "the

higher education of women." Maurice's mind, it thus appears, had been possessed for many years by large views as to the education of the whole community. In the performance of his duties as a clergyman he was Chaplain of Guy's Hospital from 1836 to 1846; and in the latter year he was appointed Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and had the opportunity of preaching fervid sermons from the pulpit of its chapel on Sunday afternoons to earnest and reverent audiences. The crisis at King's College through which he became most widely known occurred in the year preceding that of the foundation of the Working Men's College, and had more than a chronological connection with this project. For some years Maurice's writings, and especially some vehement pamphlets of his, had been exciting the misgivings of the authorities of King's College. They were felt to be "of dangerous tendency," the views which they expressed being often out of harmony with those of the prevailing Church orthodoxy. The Principal of the College had more than once remonstrated with him, especially on the ground of his agreeing with doubtful characters. The dissatisfaction of the Principal and others came to a head on the publication, in

1853, of the volume entitled *Theological Essays*. One of these Essays dealt with the question of the future life, and expressed a trust and hope which are generally entertained now, but which were revolutionary then. The Council of the College, on October 27, 1853, referring to that Essay and to an answer addressed by Maurice to the Principal, resolved as follows :—

"1. That in their judgment the opinions set forth and the doubts expressed in the said Essay, and re-stated in the said answer, as to certain points of belief regarding the future punishment of the wicked and the final issues of the day of judgment, are of dangerous tendency, and calculated to unsettle the minds of the theological students of King's College.

"2. That the Council feel it to be their painful duty to declare that the continuance of Professor Maurice's connection with the College as one of its professors would be seriously detrimental to its usefulness.

"3. That the Council, while it laments the necessity which constrains them to adopt this resolution, are bound in justice to Professor Maurice to express the sense which they entertain of the zealous and able manner in which he has

discharged the duties of the two offices which he has held, and the attachment which he has at all times manifested to the College."

It was the professor thus publicly dismissed who stood forth in a few months to offer to the working men of London the invitation involved in the establishment of the Working Men's College, and who found himself set free from other educational engagements to devote time and thought to this work. Probably nothing could have offered itself that would have been more congenial to Maurice's convictions and hopes, and nothing could have adjusted itself better to the circumstances in which he found himself, than this enterprise. He saw before him inspiring possibilities of social healing and building up; he was bringing his most characteristic energies and endowments into play; he was leading a gallant band; he was making himself an offering to the God of his fathers and of his country. He spared no labour in the maturing of plans for the future College and in giving public expositions of what was designed. His views were set forth at length in six lectures, delivered in June and July 1854 in Willis's Rooms, and published in a volume entitled

Learning and Working, as well as in papers and addresses intended for his colleagues and for the working people. He would have no patronage of the rich or highly placed. Amongst those who have taught in the College are not a few who were at the time, or who have become, distinguished on various accounts, but no name commended by wealth or rank is to be found in its annals. I believe that the founder would have thankfully accepted the honour recently done to it by the Prince of Wales, but it would have been because he was the most loyal of citizens, and rejoiced to pay pious deference to all who represented constitutional authority in this land, and because there was nothing in what the Prince said or did to put any stamp of worldliness on the College, or to warp it from its own independent designs.

The main principles which Maurice impressed upon the Working Men's College followed from his convictions.

1. It has been obvious that by all who took any part in founding the College a man was recognised as a man. To Maurice every man, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, was—whether he knew it or not—a spiritual being, a son of

the One Heavenly Father, a member of the invisible organism of which Christ was the Head, a subject of Divine inspiration. All notions of equality between man and man, or between man and woman, were, however, alien to his conceptions; order and relation, not sameness, were in his view the characteristics of the Divine creation.

2. All the institutions of society and all the developments of history were treated as having in them Divine purpose. Every form of civilisation, and every branch of literature or science, though they were far enough from being of unmixed goodness or having any absolute authority, were to be respected and studied for the life that was in them. Civilisation meant the processes by which men became more "civil," better citizens; by which human fellowship was raised to a higher level and power.

3. It could hardly be imagined that a man of Maurice's faith would attach a high value to the exacting of professions of orthodoxy. From the first he accepted the co-operation of teachers who did not profess his beliefs. The educational and social work of the College has, from the beginning until now, been largely carried on by men

dissenting in various degrees—even to the most extreme—from the creed of the Church of which Maurice himself was a loyal member. Not that he was careless about what those about him accepted as their beliefs. He had an exquisite joy in the complete sympathy of such a helper, for example, as Thomas Hughes, the man of childlike heart, of knightly loyalty, of the most humane geniality, and of the simplest Christian faith. I have no doubt—I might say, I know—that waves of disappointment passed over him from time to time as he watched the development of the College which he loved. No one who is good for anything can work and strive in this world without being often depressed by disappointment. But in Maurice, beneath the disappointments there was a firm basis of thankfulness and hope. In his view there was in the world generally a great deal of the truest faith apart from profession. And to him the noble and cheerful service of so many, which makes the fifty years of the College a delight and an inspiration to contemplate, was as worthy of reverence as the devotion of saints and martyrs.

4. The name *College* had a significance on

which Maurice loved to dwell. His attitude towards *words* in general was twofold. He had little respect for them when they assumed authority in the form of logical deductions and could be set against *things*. But a word which gave a name to a human growth might be regarded, he held, as itself a living thing, and might with advantage be interrogated. A college was an association of teachers and learners; and that was what Maurice desired the Working Men's College to be. It was not to be an institution to which the uneducated might resort, to pick up knowledge which might be of pecuniary benefit to them. The idea of fellowship was to run through all its work; every teacher was to assume that he might gain as well as impart, might learn as well as teach; every student was to be made to feel that in coming to the College he was entering into a society in which he might hope to become more of a citizen and more of a man.

The varied contributions with which we have been favoured for this Jubilee volume will illustrate the manner and degree in which the College has succeeded in fulfilling the aims with

which it was founded.[1] The value of what Maurice did for it as founder and first Principal has always had hearty and reverent recognition amongst its members. His self-denial, his humility, his unwearied patience, his consideration for his colleagues, the jealous firmness with which he guarded the principles on which the College was built, his readiness to accept any practical suggestion which promised to be of use, the combined loftiness and gentleness of all his action, are a sacred memory of those whose privilege it was to work with him.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

[1] It renews the regret caused by the comparatively recent deaths of Mr. R. B. Litchfield and Mr. G. Tansley, that we have lost the assistance they would have given in the compilation of this volume. No other men have been more closely associated with the lifelong history of the College, or have served it more devotedly.

E. Brownsier ph. lith. Jeremy Walker ph. sc.

J. M. Ludlow, C. B.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

THE Working Men's College is, in this twentieth century, the one concrete tangible outgrowth of the Christian Socialist movement in the mid-nineteenth, which I believe, nevertheless, to have in various ways powerfully influenced the development of English thought and action.

Education had indeed supplied the first field for united effort to the young men who gathered round Frederick Denison Maurice, through the setting up, in 1848, of a night school, at first for men only, in Little Ormond Yard, nearly opposite the present Working Men's College—a place where in those days policemen durst not venture alone at night. Later on, when the promotion of what is now termed Co-operative Production became the primary practical object of the movement, education was never lost sight of. In the Fifth Tract on Christian Socialism,

"The Society for promoting Working Men's Associations," the object of the Union was stated to be, "To carry out and extend the principles and practice of associated labour. . . . Thirdly, by establishing among all the Associations admitted into the Union, institutions for the common benefit of the members, as Friendly Societies, Model Lodging-Houses, *Schools*, etc." In the "Code of Laws for an Association" appended to the "Constitution," the objects of the Association are stated to be:—"Fourthly, to establish conjointly with other Associations such institutions as may be beneficial to all of them,"—such, *e.g.*, as "General Store, Benefit Club, Schools, Library, Museum, Building Society, etc." Towards the end of 1851 the Central Board,—representing as it were the Second House of the little Co-operative Parliament, elected by and from the Co-operative Associations in Union,—was discussing the question of a Benefit Society, Library, and Reading Room in connection with the Society. The regulations for the Library are printed in the *Christian Socialist* for November 1, 1851. By 1853, according to the "Rules and Catalogue of the Library of the Industrial and Provident

Societies' Union" of that year, the Library contained 308 works. It must be remembered that the magnificent Free Libraries movement of later times had not then begun. If I am not mistaken, the old foundation in Smith Street, Westminster, was as yet the only public library which could be used without an introduction.

But the educational work proper of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations belongs to the period after the building of the "Hall of Association" in Castle Street East —ingeniously contrived by one of the members of the Council of the Society, the late F. C. Penrose (afterwards President of the Society of Architects, F.R.S., etc.), out of the upper floors of the house occupied by the "Working Tailors' Association." Once in possession of a hall of our own, we sought to utilise it, not only for meetings, but also for lectures and classes. The first handbill for these announces a course extending from November 23 to December 30, 1852, the subjects being as follows: "The Historical Plays of Shakespeare" (Rev. F. D. Maurice); "The Life and Genius of Burns" (Walter Cooper, Manager of the Working Tailors'

Association); "Vocal Music, with illustrations, —to initiate a Singing Class" (John Hullah, Professor of Vocal Music at King's College, London); "Proverbs" (Rev. R. C. Trench, Professor of Divinity at King's College, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin); "Rivers" (William Johnson, well known as an Eton Master); "Architecture and its Influence, especially with Reference to the Working Classes" (F. C. Penrose, Deputy Surveyor of St. Paul's Cathedral); "Photography" (Nevil S. Maskelyne, Deputy Reader in Mineralogy, Oxford); "Entomology" (Viscount Goderich, M.P., now Marquess of Ripon); "Popular Astronomy, for Children, two Lectures" (Rev. S. C. Hansard). The Lectures began at 8.30, and the terms of admission were 2d, reserved seats 6d.

The handbill goes on to state that Evening Classes were about to be formed in Grammar, directed by Messrs. T. Hughes and A. A. Vansittart; in English History, directed by Professor Maurice, assisted by Messrs. E. V. Neale, A. H. Louis, and others; in Book-keeping, directed by Mr. Newling; in French, directed by Mr. J. M. Ludlow; in Singing, directed by Professor Hullah. A Drawing Class was projected, and a class in

Political Economy. Meetings for the study of the Bible, which had been held at Mr. Maurice's house on Tuesday evenings, were now transferred to the Hall, and held on Sunday evenings. The fee for each weekly class was 2s. 6d. a quarter; ladies were to be admitted to the Lectures and to the Singing Class.

These lectures and classes were the germ of the Working Men's College. In the following year the programme includes many additional names, amongst them those of Charles Kingsley, George Grove, Grant Duff, H. J. S. Smith, Charles Pearson, J. Ll. Davies, Charles Buxton, Lloyd Jones.

The management of the classes remained in the hands of those who were carrying on the Christian Socialist movement, and there was no solution of continuity between the movement and the establishment of the Working Men's College; so that Professor Brentano in his pamphlet[1] on *The Christian Socialist Movement in England* was right in devoting the last chapter but one to the College. The feeling of a necessary connection of co-operation with education had

[1] *Die Christlich-Sociale Bewegung in England*, 2nd edition, Leipsic, Dunckler and Humblot, 1863.

always been with us. In the first number of the *Christian Socialist* I had announced that the paper meant to deal with Education. "We shall all probably agree," I said, "that our Universities must be universal in fact as well as in name; must cease to be monopolised for the benefit of one or two privileged classes; we may differ as to the means by which that monopoly is to be broken up, that universality attained, whether by lowering the benefits of University education to the reach of the many, or by drawing up to them the pre-eminent few of every class." A series of articles, entitled "Correspondence on Education between a Member of Parliament and a Clergyman," had been begun by Mr. Maurice in the third number of the *Christian Socialist*. Later on, the work of the People's College at Sheffield had been brought to our notice by Lloyd Jones, and the idea of establishing something of the same nature for the benefit of London working men had been mooted among us. Charles Mansfield's fertile mind in particular must have been stirred on the subject, for I find that I wrote to him in November 1852, "I wish you were with us, to work out your own idea of a Working Men's

College." Mr. Maurice's dismissal from his professorship at King's College accentuated, so to speak, the educational development of the Christion Socialist movement. At a largely attended meeting of working men in the Hall of Association for presenting him with an address, December 27, 1853, one of the speakers expressed the hope "that he might not find it a fall to cease to be a Professor at King's College and to become the Principal of a Working Men's College." To a man like Mr. Maurice such words would under the circumstances sound as a call from God. On that 27th December 1853 the Working Men's College may be said to have been spiritually founded. By January 10, 1854, he will be found speaking in a letter to Kingsley of "my College" (*Life*, ii. p. 232). The very next day Mr. Vansittart Neale, at a meeting of the Promoters of Industrial and Provident Societies, read a letter from the Secretary of the People's College at Sheffield giving an account of its origin and history, and a motion was thereupon made by Mr. Hughes, and seconded by Mr. Lloyd Jones, "that it be referred to the Committee of Teaching and Publication to frame, and—so far as

they think fit—to carry out, a plan for the establishment of a People's College in connection with the Metropolitan Associations." The Committee appear to have held several meetings, and eventually to have requested Mr. Maurice to lay before them the plan for such a college.

The plan was quickly drawn up in a masterly paper, showing the clearness and completeness with which he saw the scheme of education which he was setting forth. The scheme in question, Mr. Maurice's biographer tells us, "after some modifications and much debate, became the basis of the organisation of the Working Men's College" (*Life*, ii. p. 233). The project was announced and expounded to the public in a course of lectures which Mr. Maurice gave at Willis's Rooms in June and July 1854, under the title of "Learning and Working." It was determined to open the College in the autumn in a house in Red Lion Square; an inaugural address was given by the Principal in St. Martin's Hall, October 30, and in November the College started on its course. Seven of the original teachers were Promoters (of the Working Men's Associations)—Mr. Maurice himself,

Hughes, Walsh, Vansittart Neale, Furnivall, Hose, and I. Amongst the other ten were Litchfield and Westlake, and, for the Drawing Class, Ruskin, D. G. Rossetti, and Lowes Dickinson.

J. M. LUDLOW.

PERSONAL NOTES BY TWO OF THE FOUNDERS

I. Professor Westlake

The River House,
Chelsea Embankment,
May 14, 1904.

My dear Davies—You have asked me for a contribution to the history of the Working Men's College which is to be given in its Jubilee Book. The preparation of such a book is certainly an occasion calling on me to revive as far as possible the memories of half a century, but I regret to find that they do not supply me with any important fact relating to the foundation or history of the College that is not on record. Indeed the available records for the early period are very full, and after the time when I ceased to be a regular teacher my knowledge of what occurred was naturally less, and the impressions of it have been overlaid by those of a life full

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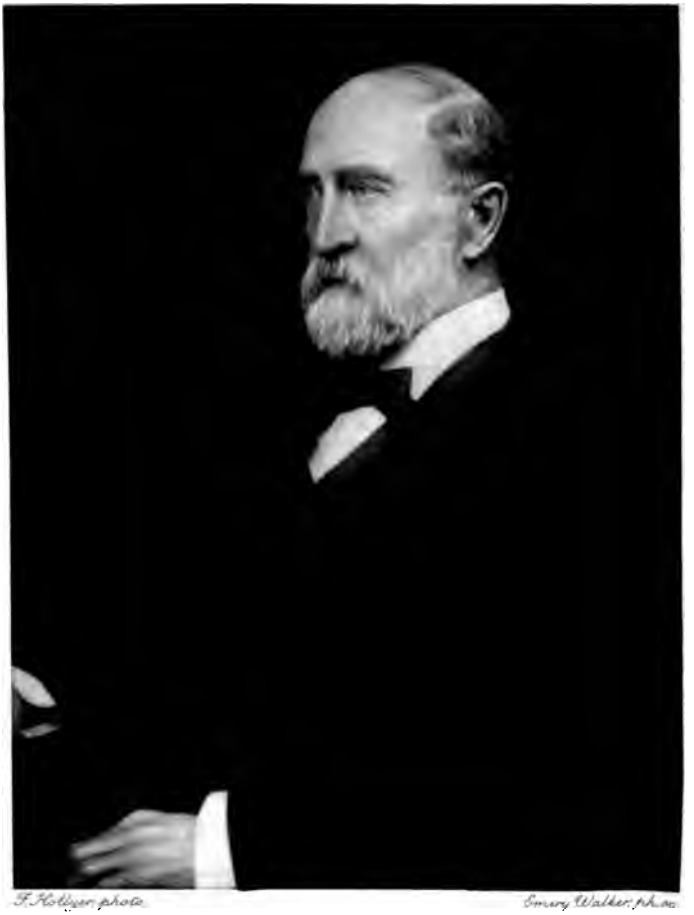


F. Hollyer photo. Emery Walker, ph. sc.

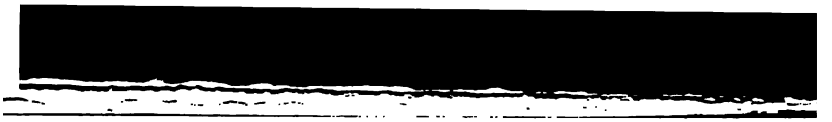
J. Westlake, K.C.

and active in other directions. I may however present one novel feature in claiming to have been a learner from the College more than a teacher in it. I came up to London from Cambridge in 1852, with an introduction to Maurice from my friend and tutor, Colenso, afterwards the heroic Bishop of Natal, who was then much under Maurice's influence in religion, and with the belief, acquired from J. S. Mill's *Political Economy*, that the problems connected with labour could only be solved by forms of co-operation giving the workman an interest in profit. Having these two points of contact with the Christian Socialist movement, to which Ludlow has justly traced the origin of the Working Men's College, I became associated in the steps which were taken for establishing it. In the course of those steps the contemplation of the social side of national life, that is of human fellowship as the base and complement of common political citizenship, and the idea of a college as suited to realise it, came new to me from Maurice's teaching; to no one could they have had more of the character of a revelation, and to no one could their realisation in the College have been more of a lesson.

You especially wish to hear something of the time when Hughes was Principal. That, unfortunately, was just the time when I was most absorbed in Lincoln's Inn, but even to see a little of Hughes's activity at the Working Men's College made a lasting impression. His teaching of English law, not by his fault but by that of the subject, never, I think, attracted the numbers which the value of the study ought to command, but his personality showed itself at its best. The width of his understanding of men and sympathy with them marked him out as endowed with a vocation for bringing them together. As he interpreted schoolboys and schoolmasters to one another, and worked for the happy combination of capital with labour, so he was the very embodiment of the spirit of the College, and not the less so because, besides helping to bring men from the different quarters of London into mutual contact, he brought physical exercise into combination with mental by the volunteer corps and the boxing class, a fine national spirit giving the tone to the whole. Many were the occasions on which the Inns of Court volunteers saw the author of *Tom Brown's School Days* in command of the Working Men's

Thomas Hughes D.D.

Thomas Hughes, Q.C.



College corps, and then one felt with admiration what a man was there. I trust that you may yet find some colleagues or students at the time who may furnish more particulars of his work. Looking at it as a whole, we may say that he aided powerfully in keeping alive the traditions of the College during the period, so critical in he history of every creation, when in the common course of events founders are dispersing. All then depends on whether the idea shall preserve its strength while new helpers are attracted. —Believe me, my dear Davies, to be yours sincerely, J. WESTLAKE.

II. Mr. Lowes Dickinson

My first introduction to the Working Men's College changed my ideal of life. I went to Italy in 1850, and returned to England when the scheme for founding a college for working men was under discussion in Mr. Maurice's house in Queen's Square.

The man whom I really knew in the company which assembled there was Archie Campbell. I believed in those days that the artistic and Bohemian life in Rome and other magical centres in Italy was more to be desired, and presented fewer impediments to happiness in this world, than any other pilgrimage from birth to the grave. But when Archie Campbell told of the work Mr. Maurice and his friends were doing in London, it dawned upon me that the life of pleasure was not a noble, and might be a very useless one. Archie Campbell and I became fast friends in Italy; I knew no man whom I more honoured and loved, and to him I owe my introduction to the College, and to the many friendships I have made there. After

THE WORKING MEN'S [illegible]

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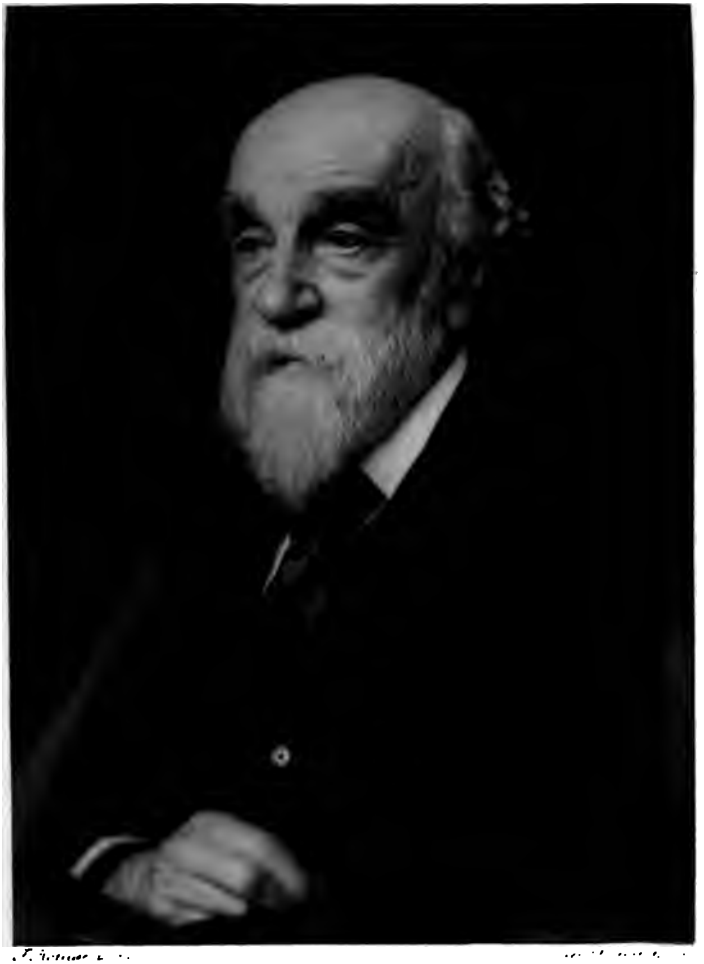


G. Lowes Dickinson

we met in London I think the first I came to know was his cousin, Charles Mansfield, the "loveable," of whom Thackeray is reported to have said "that he must have the rudiments of wings under his waistcoat." It was fated that I was only to know him for a few months. I can never cease to be grateful that I saw so much of him as I did during the brief time that death spared him to his friends. His brother Robert Mansfield's last book contains the most perfect and complete memorial of his life and character; and Mr. J. M. Ludlow's invaluable college reminiscences in the 1893-4 numbers of the *Economical Review*, and Charles Kingsley's memorial introduction to his friend's *Letters from Brazil and Paraguay*, can never be forgotten.

In Archie Campbell's home at Weybridge I very soon came to know many of the founders, with Mr. Maurice, of the College, before I had seen the great founder himself. I shall never forget my first introduction to Mr. Maurice's house. I was strolling down from Holborn, by Southampton Street, to Russell Square in the late summer of 1854, and thinking only of the difference between the sharp-cut outline of the

shadows cast by the Italian sun and the blurred impressions of those on the London pavement, when, as I was passing the iron posts of the passage leading into Queen's Square, an arm was gently passed through mine, and on looking round I saw the beautiful face of Charles Mansfield. He at once turned into the passage leading to Queen Square, saying, "How fortunate I am just to have caught you! You must come with me to a tea-party at Maurice's house, where we are meeting to discuss his proposal to found a Working Men's College, and you must come to help us, and give what you know to fellow-men who want to know and who haven't had your opportunities." I was certainly rather taken aback. A rushing thought of all my deficiencies and unworthiness seized upon me. I had never seen Mr. Maurice, and shrank from intrusion into the company of real fighters against evil who were not only unashamed, but eager, to confess the Headship of Christ as their Gospel to rich and poor alike. But my companion would not listen to me, and we were shown into the dining-room, where the meeting was assembled round the tea-table. On entering the room Charles Mansfield took me up

to Mr. Maurice, and, introducing me, said, "I have brought a new recruit, who wants to help us." Mr. Maurice stood up and received me with a warm pressure of the hand and that smile of welcome that once seen could never be forgotten; and I sat down in the company of those pioneers of the great work we witness to-day. For it is a great work, and it was a great act of faith on the part of the founder in days in which some good-tempered ridicule was excited by a proposal to raise the status of working men to the true and human relation between teachers and students, men and men.

After my introduction to Mr. Maurice I usually attended the meetings in Queen's Square, where I learned much from that company, that noble band of young men with a consciousness of duty to be done and sacrifice to be offered, many of whom were to become my most valued friends.

I do not propose in this paper to write of Mr. Maurice or the distinguished band of fellow-workers, except from my own personal experience. And what a distinguished roll of helpers Mr. Maurice could count upon is well known to all friends of the College. There was something

dramatic about it; it recalls King Harry and his captains on the dawn of Agincourt. Only the object of our fight was a better one than the King's. The founding and subsequent history of the Working Men's College up to the present time strikes me as one of the most beneficent achievements of the nineteenth century. What most nearly touched me when I looked at Mr. Maurice is expressed in a sentence in Mr. Litchfield's book about the College, "The Divine in Man."

I should like to add an expression of gratitude for all that the College has been to me since it was founded fifty years ago. I look back on the list of its Principals—from the founder to Professor Dicey; and Vice-Principals—from Litchfield to Jacob—with reverence and wonder. The great tradition of fellowship has flourished more and more, and is now, I trust, fixed on a rock that will never be shaken. As I look on the composition of the present Council, I feel all the dreams of its best friends realised and its future assured. I am, I believe, the oldest living member; I cannot look forward to more than a vision which I feel must be realised in the future.

LOWES DICKINSON.

MAURICE'S FUNERAL

An extract from a letter written to a friend abroad, within a week of Mr. Maurice's funeral.

THE announcement of Mr. Maurice's death came to me as a shock of surprise. I did not gather that his illness was serious when I called in Bolton Row. Ever since my heart has felt half broken, and a strange kind of feeling has possessed me, as if an influence had been removed that kept me from active wrong-doing, and without which I should somehow go astray. On Friday I went to the funeral at Highgate. On my way I was occupied with busy thoughts of his noble and simple life, and of the strength and reality of a faith that could so rule the soul that dwelt in that frail tabernacle, as I compared it with the doubts and unbelief which made my own life a negation, too often a hypocrisy and a sham. At the corner of Swain's Lane I overtook Vernon Lushington, and we joined a vast

crowd, rich and poor, men and women, for he was loved of all classes for his love of men.

I never saw a more silent or reverent crowd than that mass of folk pressing up the hill to the burial-ground. In front of the little chapel, already filled by nearer friends and relatives, the chief concourse of people were gathered. So many appeared to know each other, and I saw so many silent greetings exchanged, and there was an expression on most faces of a common loss. A large body of members of the Working Men's College were on the ground. The funeral carriages had now entered the burial-ground, and were landing their occupants at the chapel doors. At this moment a working man whom I knew well came to ask me to join the College members at the foot of the rising ground on which the grave was prepared, and there to fall in with those of their body who had been selected to bear the pall from the chapel to the grave. The brink of it comes back to me like a dream. My eyes were dimmed as when one sees a vision. Mr. Llewelyn Davies, who took the service, looked so pained and suddenly aged; and when he stood against the sky, with his whole figure relieved against its blue spaces and rolling white

clouds, his white surplice swayed by the wind, and we heard the words, "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live," every eye was touched by tears. Dean Stanley stood next to Llewelyn Davies, and just below were Tom Hughes, Charles Kingsley, John Malcolm Ludlow, Robert Mansfield, Vernon Lushington, and how many more who will love and revere the memory of the friend and helper of all men.

Before the conclusion of the service the College choir sang the hymn, "Abide with me," which was taken up by the whole assembly. And so we left him—his body to the dust, his spirit to God, who gave it. And so we parted from him, and for the first time I had a dim consciousness of the feeling of the disciples when their Lord and Master was taken—of their grief and isolation.

LOWES DICKINSON.

ART-TEACHING IN THE COLLEGE IN ITS EARLY DAYS

I

I HAVE been asked to contribute some notes of my connexion with the Working Men's College, as one of the earliest teachers in the drawing class of which Mr. Ruskin was the distinguished and superior director. I was proud and happy to work with him and under him during the four or five years he held the leadership, so ably, so courteously, so indefatigably. He was himself a very great artist. His aim was not to make great artists of working men—though, as might have been anticipated, more than one or two of the students did become professional artists of repute—but that all men should be taught and encouraged to note and observe, to perceive, and not merely to see, the wonder and beauty of this mysterious universe into which we are born. To teach under the great master was to learn, and I

hope never to forget my indebtedness for all I learned from him as I stood by his side as assistant and student during those precious years of his work and sacrifice at the Working Men's College.

After Mr. Ruskin's retirement I felt serious misgivings as to my own fitness to take up his work; but the trail of his glory appeared behind him. Many distinguished artists, his friends and contemporaries, whose names are enrolled in the annals of the College—chiefly those who belonged to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and notably Rossetti, Madox Brown, Stacy Marks, Cave Thomas, Burne-Jones, V. Prinsep, and Arthur Hughes—gave themselves enthusiastically to the work, and held classes on other days of the week for longer or shorter periods. The pressure of life and the strenuousness of their own work obliged them soon to give up the work of teaching, and I found myself left almost alone. I had made many friends in the class, most of whose names the infirmities of age have blotted out, but whose presence I can recall in the night watches. There could not have been found a nicer class of men than those students who formed the Art School on

the two evenings on which I attended. No art teaching can do much. The great Victorian actress, Helen Faucit (afterwards Lady Martin), held that a real actor must be born and not made by teaching, the necessary business of the stage, all that is good in that, being easily assimilated by one who has the birth-gift, and who sees therefore what is needful and what may be omitted. This is true of all great work in every artistic profession; of painting, architecture, music, sculpture. But men can learn to appreciate Michael Angelo, Phidias, Beethoven, and to perceive and value the glory and beauty of the world in which they live.

My purpose in taking up Mr. Ruskin's work was to adhere to his principles and practice. There were men in my class who, holding safe positions in such institutions as the Post Office, or in good steady firms, had been advised by injudicious friends to throw up their work and become artists. When I was consulted, as I was sometimes, I steadily discouraged the idea of giving up a small certainty for the dismal outlook of an unemployed artist; and I am glad to know that in at least two cases the advice I ventured to give was thankfully accepted; and

the College ideal, that education is good in itself and not merely a means of increasing an income, was vindicated.

During the period of my teaching, many of the Art students became assistant teachers. My first assistants were Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Carey, both early members of the College. Mr. J. P. Elmslie, who was a student under Rossetti, and who has since become a professional artist of distinguished ability, was a teacher and Visitor for three years. In the Art classes there were, I believe, twelve or thirteen students who became assistant teachers, and some of them Visitors.

As I look back on those days I feel how happy they really were. I had removed to the then beautiful country village of Hanwell, and I often had the great pleasure of a visit by members of my class on a Saturday afternoon, when we took walking excursions to Harrow, Horsingden Hill, Cranley, Osterley Park, Perivale, and other lovely spots in that beautiful country, now, alas, largely converted into building land. We started about four in the afternoon, and returned about eight to a good meal with hearty appetites and pleasant memories of cloudland, copse and meadow, and song of birds, in

the light of setting suns. I kept on with my work at the drawing classes for eleven or twelve years after Mr. Ruskin retired. I had for some time felt that it would be better for the class to have another teacher, and knew that the students had absorbed all that I could give them —and little enough I felt it was. My friend, Mr. Cave Thomas, very kindly took my place. He was well known in the College, and a far abler teacher than I was. He studied for some years under Kaulbach, the great German fresco painter, and was a sculptor as well as a painter. He was much liked, and his work was appreciated by all the artists here; and his knowledge of painting and sculpture always carried weight among his contemporaries.

Cave Thomas took up his work at the drawing classes with great ardour and devotion, and carried it on for some years. No better teacher than he could have done the work; when he relinquished it, there was difficulty in providing a permanent unpaid teacher for the school, and an arrangement was made with the South Kensington Schools, under which a competent teacher is appointed, with quite satisfactory results.

LOWES DICKINSON.

II

In the year 1856 I became a student in the drawing class of the Working Men's College. This class was at that time conducted by Messrs. Ruskin, D. G. Rossetti, and Lowes Dickinson. Mr. Ruskin modestly undertook the elementary task of teaching the beginners, many of whom had no knowledge whatever of the subject. As soon as, under his tuition, they had gained some kind of proficiency, he would pass them on to Messrs. Rossetti and Dickinson, by whom they would be instructed in water-colour painting and figure-drawing from the life.

Mr. Ruskin's method of teaching somewhat surprised me, used as I had been to the Government School of Design, where one has to go through a long course of drawing from the flat before being permitted to draw from the round. Mr. Ruskin, on the contrary, did not give his students printed works to copy, but set them at once to draw from objects. On his entry into the class, a student was set to make a drawing from a plaster cast of a sphere, Mr. Ruskin saying that a sphere was of so regular a form that

even an untrained eye could perceive an error in the representation of it, and that, moreover, the gradations of its shadows were so regular that a beginner would find them the least puzzling for him to attempt. Having made a drawing of a sphere, the student would next be set to draw from a racket ball, which, being not so exact in form as a sphere, and also possessing a more variegated light-and-shade, was a farther trial of the student's abilities, and led on to his making drawings from casts of leaves, then from real leaves, pebbles, minerals, and other objects of still life. The study had interest in its every stage, and it was surprising to see men who started without any knowledge of drawing soon attaining to some amount of skill of delineation. An astonished and delighted student once said to me, at the end of his first term, "Well, if a fellow has anything at all in him, Mr. Ruskin soon finds it out and develops it."

I well remember those old drawing-class rooms, first in Red Lion Square and afterwards in Great Ormond Street, how well they were lighted—they swarmed with gaslights—how hot and dry they were. Looking back for nearly

half a century, I think Mr. Ruskin must have had considerable energy as well as benevolence to spend two hours each week in the trying atmosphere of those rooms. He was patient and indefatigable, and greatly interested himself in the development of whatever gift each particular pupil might possess. His voice was a good loud one, and every word he uttered could be heard all over the class-room. His praise of any good effort was tremendous, and, I imagine, sometimes astonished the recipient of it. On the other hand, he would speak with great severity to any one who did not seem to be working up to his usual level. "Now, Mr. ——," he would call out, "don't you see that all this is too dark?" or too light, or whatever the fault might be. "Yes," would be the meek reply. "Yes," would Mr. Ruskin say, "yes, of course you can see it; you oughtn't to want a teacher to point that out to you; you are able yourself to see such a thing as that, and as soon as you see it you ought to set it right at once."

A man called there one evening and said, "Can you teach me how to draw a cart-wheel?" "I don't teach anything special or technical," said Mr. Ruskin, "I teach drawing in general,

so that any one learning from me would have the power of drawing any object that's before him." "Yes, but that isn't what I want; I don't care about drawing for itself; I'm a wheelwright, and it would be a great advantage to me in my business if I could make a drawing of a wheel just as I see it lying on the ground; and if you can teach me to do that, I'll come into your class." Mr. Ruskin again explained that he taught drawing in general, so that any one should be able to draw anything, whether a cart-wheel or other object, as it appeared to the eye, but that he could not undertake to teach anything that was in any way special. He asked his visitor if he (the visitor) wished to be able to make a drawing to scale, as, if that were the case, the School of Design would be the place for him. The visitor was very earnest, stolidly earnest, with but one idea, that of gaining the ability to draw a cart-wheel; that was all; he didn't wish to go through a course of drawing, and I believe that in the end he did not join Mr. Ruskin's class.

The memory of Mr. Ruskin is dear to all who have studied under him, not only on account of the thoroughness of his teaching, but also on account

of his friendliness. Many are the pleasant chats which we students have had with him. He was ever ready to explain to a student his reason for making any correction in that student's work, and would give the benefit of his learning to any who asked information, instructing them in the historical part of art, or the details of the life of some famous painter. He would also tell us why certain things were in good or bad taste. A student once remarked to him, "I've heard, sir, that there's a shop near Leicester Square where you can buy engravings by Albert Dürer for eighteen-pence each." "Then," said Mr. Ruskin, "now's the time to lay out your money." "Ah! yes," said the student, "but how am I to know that they are genuine?" Mr. Ruskin cooled at once and very seriously said, "Now there's a thing in which I won't even endeavour to help you; you ought never to buy any work of art merely because it has some great man's name attached to it. If you acquire it, it ought to be either because it's true to nature, or is otherwise beautiful in itself, or has some quality in it which gives you genuine pleasure. You should never obtain it for the sake of a mere name."

Mr. Ruskin taught how to draw in black and white, but a section of the class was engaged in the study of colour, and of drawing and painting the figure, a section which was taught by Mr. Rossetti and Mr. Dickinson. "I understand what is good and what is bad colour," said Mr. Ruskin, "but I wouldn't undertake to teach it, and as to figure painting, it's a thing that requires a lifetime of practice." Mr. Rossetti much wished to have all the students in his class, "Mr. Ruskin 'll spoil their eye for colour if he keeps 'em so long at that pencil and sepia drawing," he would say; while Mr. Ruskin would reply to some student who was ambitious of trying his hand at painting, "Yes, Mr. Rossetti is such a colourist that he wishes everybody to be the same, and would have people practise colour before they understand light-and-shade and how colour is affected by it."

Of Mr. Rossetti, Mr. Ruskin once told me that he (Rossetti) was, in one respect, like only one other artist, Cimabue, for he taught his pupils all that he knew, being quite free from that professional jealousy which caused most artists to withhold some part of their knowledge from their pupils. Mr. Rossetti was a very

original painter, and he taught his original way of painting in his class. After giving instructions, he would sometimes seat himself and show by example how to paint, throwing the pencil with apparent recklessness about the paper, making a number of lines to represent one form, and producing a sketch which appeared to be neither outline nor shadow, but something of a combination of the two. He would then take up a brush, well fill it with violet carmine, and rub it on the margin of the paper until all the moisture had departed and only dry colour was left in the brush. This dry colour he would drag about the paper until he had produced a very rugged modelling. Over this he would, with a similarly dry brush, rub various colours until he had gained a rough general effect of colour, though, rough as it was, the light and colour were very vivid. Then he would wash all this together, blending and softening it, and somewhat diminishing its force. Working over this, but with a more flowing brush, he would soon complete a work which possessed all that splendid colour which I suppose that only he could attain to produce. Tremendously popular was he with his pupils. I mean that, although they looked

up to and reverenced him as a teacher, yet, beyond that, they regarded him personally with great affection. Many of the numerous writers on the subject of Rossetti have spoken of his magnetic influence on those with whom he has come into contact. I have witnessed this, again and again, amongst my fellow-students. He was such an enthusiast in art that he did not like the thought of his pupils joining (as some of them did) any class whose subject was unconnected with art. A promising member of his class had taken to the study of algebra, and Mr. Rossetti urged him to give it up, and asked him what use algebra could be to painting.

Of the three drawing-class teachers of that time, Mr. Lowes Dickinson was the most quiet. He was an influence for good in the midst of a somewhat disturbed atmosphere. Mr. Ruskin, upon several occasions, when speaking at College meetings, said that men came into his class with an idea that they could soon become artists and earn more money than they could as workmen, that he (Ruskin) wished to discourage the idea. His wish was to teach men drawing in order that they might see greater beauties than they had hitherto seen in nature and in art, and thereby

gain more pleasure in life; if they had the artistic gift it would ultimately display itself. I do not think this view of the matter was taken by Mr. Rossetti, but it seems to have been held by Mr. Dickinson, for he never indulged in the profuse praise of which his two colleagues were so liberal, but would point out to a student the very spot in his drawing which was weak, and then show him how to amend it.

He, like Mr. Rossetti, would sometimes give us an object-lesson in painting. Painting a group of objects, he would take up a brush full of colour and begin at the top of the paper, gradually work downwards, always keep the colour wet at its lower edge, and yet join on to this lower edge an entirely different colour without permitting the two colours to run into each other. Thus he went on, taking everything as it came—foreground, background, near object, distant object—always hitting the colour and tone with such exactitude that he would not retouch more than once or twice in the whole work, never appearing to hurry, and yet working with such speed that in about a couple of hours he would have painted a picture some eighteen inches square, with many objects in it, a picture

full of colour, and light, and texture. Privileged as I have been to see this done, I could not in the least tell how it was done. Such execution was, and is, marvellous to me.

One evening a student told him that a friend of his had taken lessons in painting from some celebrated professor, and then described that professor's method of painting, a method entirely different from College art ways. "Do you think that that's the right way of painting, sir?" asked the student at the end of his narration. "Oh!" said Mr. Dickinson, "every man has his own way of painting; it doesn't in the least matter how you paint; the question of vital importance is, What result do you get?"

Two or three Royal Academy students joined the College drawing class for a few terms. One of these painted a picture which contained figures of the Infant Saviour and the Virgin Mary. I was describing it to Mr. Dickinson, and telling him that I did not like the face of the Virgin on account of its ugliness, and that my friend had said that it was painted from the best model he had been able to obtain, and that it was almost impossible to induce any beautiful woman to allow herself to be painted. "Ah! yes," said

Mr. Dickinson with a peculiar quietude which I well remember, "and when you've persuaded the beautiful woman to sit for her head, then the difficulty is to paint her."

Amongst my fellow-students were three who have since become notable, mainly in consequence of the influence which they were able to obtain through their connection with the College. George Allen, a painstaking student, became an engraver, and, afterwards, publisher of Mr. Ruskin's books, a special business which he has since developed into that of publisher in general. William Ward became a painter of still life, and afterwards a book and printseller, principally of Ruskin and Turner works. Messrs. Allen and Ward were, for a time, assistant teachers in Mr. Ruskin's class, while I was assistant teacher in the figure-drawing class. J. W. Bunney, when I first joined the College, was hard at work on a group composed of moss, ivy, dead leaves, and acorns, such as one might see on a country bank; this work was, when finished, exhibited, under the title of "By the Roadside," at the Royal Academy. Bunney, in 1858, made a tour in Derbyshire, and the drawings which he executed during that tour gained him a commis-

sion from Mr. Ruskin to make a number of views in Switzerland and Italy. He was engaged on this work for two successive summers. In the end he became famous as a painter of views of Venice, and an exhibition of his works was held, after his death in 1882, at the Fine Art Society's rooms. John Fotheringham and his brother William were also students in the drawing class. Many a walk have John Fotheringham and I taken together to Highgate, Hampstead, Hornsey, when those places were in the country; we walked with our sketch-books in our pockets, and sometimes those sketch-books were brought out and used. George Birket, who became manager of a picture gallery in Liverpool, was also a fellow-student, and, curious as it may seem, it was in the drawing class that I first made the acquaintance of the late George Tansley, who was a student there in 1856.

In 1858 Mr. Ford Madox Brown became the teacher of the figure-drawing class. Mr. Ruskin said of him that he had had more experience as a teacher than Mr. Rossetti. This we soon perceived in the very systematic way in which he gave his instructions. He did not permit the exceedingly free style of making an

outline which had been encouraged by Mr. Rossetti. He (Madox Brown) has said to me, and I have heard him say the same to others, "Don't make a number of lines at random, trusting that something or other'll come right, but have a perfectly clear idea in your own mind with regard to every mark which you make."

He would take great pains with each particular student, asking him why he practised drawing, whether as a study, amusement, or aid to his calling, for he said that a teacher could so much more benefit a pupil when he knew the exact object which the pupil had in view in taking lessons in drawing. In support of his remarks he would instance his experience in a drawing school which he had conducted in the north of London, wherein were men of many trades who wished to learn a certain amount of drawing in order to apply their knowledge to some detail of their work.

He invited us to his studio, where we saw his "Lear and Cordelia," "Autumn Afternoon," "Out of Town," and other pictures, amongst them the then (1858) but half finished "Work," wherein we recognised the portrait of the Rev.

F. D. Maurice, Principal of the College. Upon another occasion we saw, at his house, pictures not only by himself, but also by Rossetti, Holman Hunt, and others. These visits we students greatly enjoyed.

Associated with Mr. Madox Brown in teaching the figure-drawing class was a much younger artist of the name of Edward Burne-Jones, who was at that time greatly influenced by Rossetti, and had not yet developed that style of painting which led him to fame. In common with Rossetti, he possessed great enthusiasm, believing that art should be a paramount influence in the world, not (as the world too much regards it) an insignificant detail which exists on sufferance. Like Rossetti, he was profuse in his praise of any well-meant attempt, but objected to anything in the way of mere prettiness or artificiality. His manner to the students was friendly in the extreme; they were to him brothers in art. "I say, Emslie," he once said to me, "you come round to my studio, and we'll have a model, and we'll do some life-size heads together," speaking to me, not as teacher to pupil, but as one fellow-worker to another.

Ah! those old drawing-class days were grand

times, when I (and others also, I suppose) "saw the Vision of the world and all the wonder that would be." Well I remember the teachers of those times (only one of whom, alas! is still amongst us) and think of the kindness and the friendliness with which they gave the benefit of their experience and their ability to help forward those whose opportunities for study were but moderate.

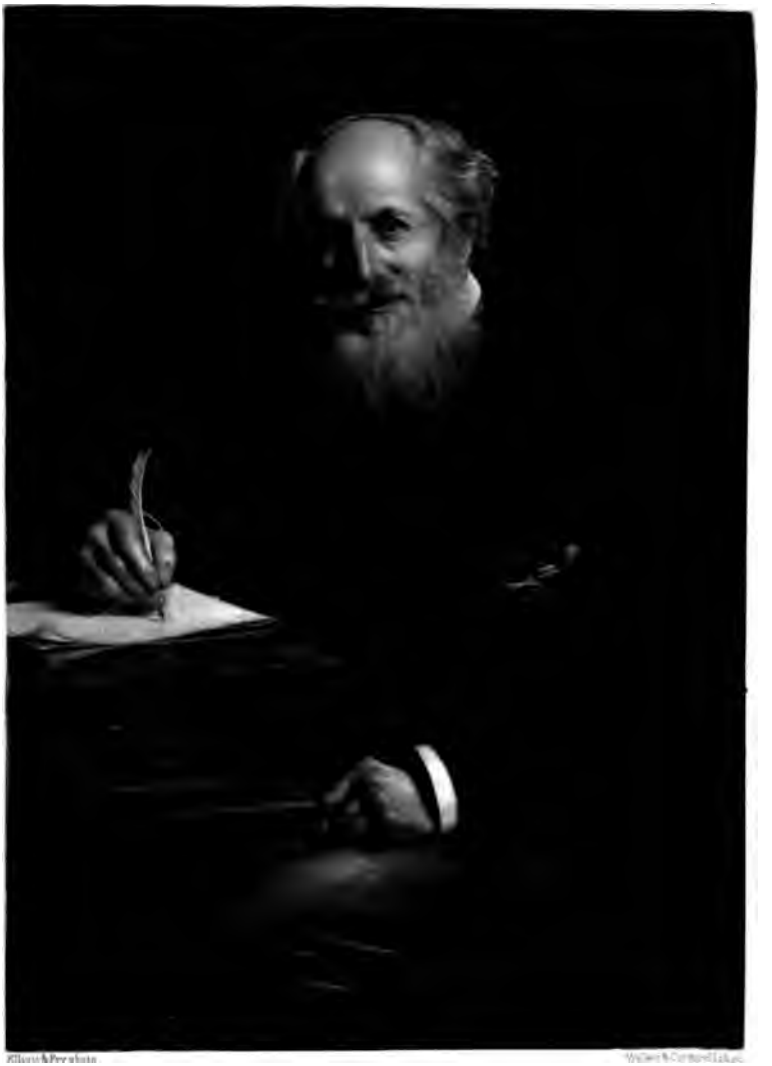
J. P. EMSLIE.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COLLEGE[1]

At the start of the College the furthering of its social life fell mainly into the hands of the youngest unmarried members of the Council. As I was one of these, and lived near, I used to give five nights a week to College work, examining and welcoming new-comers, introducing them to earlier students, and advising them as to the classes they should join. It was a new and agreeable experience to find oneself trusted and lookt up to by a set of men, many double one's own age, knowing more of practical life, and having different traditions and opinions to mine; and I well recollect the pleasure I used to feel as I walkt about the College rooms, and saw face after face light up as I greeted its owner. My principle was that every man was to be treated

[1] It will be seen that Dr. Furnivall, whose popularity amongst the students will be easily understood, represents a line of action that was out of harmony in some respects with Maurice's views and feelings.—Editor.

F. J. Finnivall.
6 Feb.y 1901



F. J. Furnivall.
6 Feb.y 1901.

as an equal and a friend, and to be trusted till he showed himself unworthy of trust. This latter event never happened. The former was acted on by the Council, except in the two cases of not allowing the men to have beer for their supper, and not letting the College reading-party meet in the College on Sunday evenings. The result was that the men—some of them among the nicest fellows in the College—were driven to Parham's little public at the corner of Queen Square and the passage leading to it, where many jolly evenings were spent; and the Sunday reading-party had to take refuge in such coffee-shops and public-houses as would give them tea and the use of a room for a small payment.[1] George Tansley was our best reader of poetry.

Besides starting a general ninepenny tea on Friday nights upstairs, followed by songs and recitations, I urged every teacher to have his class to tea at his own rooms, if possible, and if

[1] As soon as Professor Brewer acted as Principal, on Maurice's going to Cambridge, he was reasonable about the Sunday use of the College by the reading-party, and said, "Certainly use a room there; but don't talk publicly or make a fuss about it." As a Yorkshire farmer's son he liked his glass of beer, and was for our men having their glass of beer in the College too. He had us up to his house at Hampstead on a Sunday afternoon, and took us a very pretty walk.

not, in the College. As an instance of how this workt I may give the case of a student, a lithographer, who met me in Camden Town some thirty-five years after he had been a member of my grammar class. After telling me how well he had got on, what classes he was teaching drawing to, etc., he said: "And do you know how all this came about?" "No," said I. "Then I'll tell you," answered he. "I was in your class at the College, and you askt me to tea with some of the others. I'd never been in a gentleman's room before, and when I came out, after seeing your pictures, books, and chairs, I said to myself, 'I'll have as good a room as that.' And now I've got a better." Cheering, wasn't it, and so unexpected. Ruskin and most of our teachers had their classes to tea; and the two men who knew most of foreign life, Ludlow and Dr. Oswald, were specially happy in their freedom from English class-prejudice. The freely-given invitations to Dr. Oswald's conversaziones were much prized. But I think our Sunday rowing and walks, mixt later with the girls and men of Litchfield's singing-class, brought those who took part in them more closely together than anything else. When folk

have a whole day in the open, with "pitches" on the grass, discussing all possible subjects, and hearing about one another's lives, they get really intimate. And when you've had a hard spell against wind and tide, or a 40-mile walk, with men who put their backs and legs into their work, you get to respect them. Our half-day walk on alternate Sundays at one time used to be: meet at King's Cross at three, walk to Epping—16 miles—by seven, tea till eight, and back at King's Cross by twelve, all done to the minute, whatever the weather was. We walkt twice to St. Albans and back—44 miles—in the day. And as to rowing, an old member whom I had forgotten accosted me at the Portland Road Station the other day and asked me whether I recollected stroking a four he was in, from Richmond to Hammersmith—some seven miles—and refusing to give 'em even one easy. Of course I'd forgotten it, but he said he'd remember it till his dying day. We had, I think, three successive Rowing Clubs at intervals, of all of which I was president. I forget how many Cricket and Chess Clubs there were.

Our Sunday geological walks—begun under the leadership of my late friend, Alfred Tyler,

and Professor Morris—and the botanical walks with Grugeon were full of interest and instruction. Frederic Harrison had us down to his father's place in Kent one Sunday; and one Saturday afternoon Ludlow and Hughes entertained us at the houses they had built with a joint-library at Wimbledon Common. It was at a geological walk in a chalk-pit at Caterham, by the station, that two of our men told me of their want of women's society, and askt me to get up some dances for them, as casinos were then the only places where they could meet women. This led to many very pleasant social gatherings, specially after the Rifle Corps was started; and Litchfield's singing-class of girls and men added greatly to the enjoyment of our Sunday walks.[1] We used to march to the station from our tea-place, some six or eight miles, singing the whole way.

In the long vacations we had walking parties at a distance. I went with the first in North Wales, and shall never forget cracking with my geological hammer what lookt like a rolled flint at the top of Snowdon, and finding it was a lava-crust round the ashes of a shellfish that it had scorcht

[1] This class was also always to the fore in the conversaziones of the College, and contributed the most enjoyable element in them.

to dust at the bottom of the sea before Snowdon and its craters had been raisd into dry land. I was also with one of the first College excursions abroad, for a walk in Normandy and Brittany. Frederic Harrison took the first party to Switzerland, and, by sleeping and feeding the men in châlets that he knew, kept the cost down to 5s. each a day. Later, Lynton in North Devon was a favourite place for College holiday parties.

The starting of the Rifle Corps was a great event in our social life. When I told my grammar class what we meant to do, and askt its members to join our Corps, a quiet member at the back—whom I had then only just seen—said, "I shall be glad to give you any help I can, Mr. Furnivall," I answered, "Thanks, Read, but do you know anything about soldiering?" "Rather," he said; "I was wounded outside the Redan, and was serjeant-major of the —— foot when I was invalided." So we all clusterd round Read after class, and made him the hero of the College. We always cut and buttered his bread at tea and paid for it, and would, any of us, have blackt his boots with pleasure. We got Hughes, as our Colonel, to insist on Read's being made Adjutant of our regiment, the

19th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers; and as our friend, Lord Goderich (now Marquess of Ripon), was then Under-Secretary at War, we got Read appointed the only adjutant of volunteers ever taken from the ranks and made Captain, and then Major—as he still is, with a Major's retiring pension. A right good fellow was Philip Read, a capital driller and teacher, and untiringly zealous in his work. We all lookt up to him and liked him.

As I wasn't a boxer, I can't speak of Hughes's boxing-class from experience. But I recollect Jim Donovan's advice to a beginner: "Mind you don't hit Hughes on the nose by accident. If you do, you'll catch it."

Of the cheery good fellows of early college days, Jim Fisher, brushmaker Hurst, Wright, Jack Fotheringham (flourishing his geological hammer on snow-clad Caterham Downs), Dick Taylor, Jim Donovan, Standring, and a host of others, I have most pleasant memories. We studied and took exercise together, we were comrades and friends, and helpt one another to live higher, happier, and healthier lives, free from all stupid and narrow class humbug.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD STUDENT

In the early autumn of 1854 I saw an announcement of a free public lecture to be given in St. Martin's Hall, Longacre, by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, on the proposed founding of a college for the Working Men of London. I attended the lecture, saw and heard Mr. Maurice, and learnt that a number of University men engaged in various professions, some of them men of acknowledged standing, had banded themselves together to offer evening instruction to all day-workers in the several branches of knowledge which distinguish the educated from the uneducated man. That the proposed institution, which was to be named the "Working Men's College," would become anything more to me than a medium through which I could hope to increase my knowledge never at that time entered my mind. I recognised, as I could not fail to do, the spirit of brotherly benevolence

which led these gentlemen to give their time and the fruits of their own studies and opportunities to their less fortunate brethren. I knew the names of Thomas Hughes, Charles Kingsley, Lord Goderich, and Vansittart Neale as promoters of co-operative trade associations, and my own wishes and sympathies had in the immediately preceding year been heartily with them. Accordingly I made up my mind that I ought, if I could, to connect myself with the College, and at least make a start in increasing my little store of education. I say "if I could," because though the expense of joining the College, with its entrance and class fees, was small, I happened at the time to have to be very careful of every shilling I expended. I was twenty-three years of age, married, and the birth of my first-born coincided with the birth of the College, so that, having only my weekly earnings by which to support my little home, any outside expenditure was with me a matter of serious consideration.

On the first evening on which applications for membership were received, October 26, 1854, I presented myself at 31 Red Lion Square to qualify for admission and pay my entrance fee.

I entered only one class, that in English grammar, taught by Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. On presenting myself on the first class night, November 2, 1854, I found somewhere between a dozen and a score of fellow-students of various ages, some older, most younger, than myself. I also found Mr. Furnivall, and from that day to this his personality has always been a treasured recollection. His geniality and the winning brightness of his smile were at once appreciated by me, as they have been by hundreds, and perhaps thousands, since. Since that day his name as an English scholar has extended beyond the confines of England, and is especially well known in the land in which I am writing this paper.

At the close of his first lecture some of the students managed to get together to talk over its features and to make themselves acquainted with each other. The men whose personalities stand out strongest in my recollection are Sam Standring, whom, being its eldest student member, we dubbed, at a later time, "the father of the College"; John Emslie, the next eldest member of the class, whose business was map

designing and engraving, who was a strong authority on geography and became a member of the Royal Geographical Society, and who was at that time the father of three sons who have done good service to the College as teachers and students; William Rossiter, who took early honours in the College, and possessed peculiar qualities which made one fully aware that he was there and meant business. For the first three years he was an active and very useful member. Other students were R. C. Taylor, Chappell, and many others whose names escape me, but the three men I have first named with myself became fast friends, and we at once entered heartily into the spirit of the College, and did all we could to promote its success.

At the close of the College term we held, at the suggestion of Mr. Furnivall, a class tea, which we all, I believe, attended, and which was the forerunner of many teas, a social feature of great interest to me and of great good to the College. Occasionally a select few were invited by certain of the teachers to take a cup of tea with them, as by Mr. Furnivall at his lodgings in Hatton Garden, and Mr. Litchfield in his set of bachelor chambers at 4 Hare Court, Temple,

places well known to many of the students, and very dear to their recollections.

On the opening of the second term I entered on a line of mathematical studies which led me eventually to the completion of the College course in mathematics. I joined Mr. Litchfield's algebra class, this being his first term as a teacher, and finished the subject at the end of the March term, 1856, by the attainment of a certificate of competency in algebra up to and including the Binomial Theorem. Some of the friends I had made in the grammar class took up the same study, and soon came some notable additions to our inner circle, chief among whom was George Tansley, my dearest friend and fellow-worker of them all. The course in English ending with the second College term, I took up Euclid, attaining at Michaelmas 1856 a certificate of competency in the geometry of Euclid. But before reaching this stage in my career as a student an incident of importance in our College life had occurred. The elder students had consulted jointly with the whole body of students, as represented by a general meeting called for the purpose, and had chosen a students' committee to form a medium

of communication between themselves and the council of teachers, and to act generally as the representatives of the whole body of students. The Council cordially welcomed this movement, and undoubtedly great good resulted from it. The system of class tutors may be said to have been originated by this committee, and by their advice the financial system of the College was changed, the chief feature of that change being the institution of term fees, outside of entrance and class fees, by which members of the College who desired to remain in connection with it, whether for the time being they might be attending classes or not, could contribute to the income of the College and be entitled to its privileges. The system, as we know, has been retained to the present day. As the first College year approached its end a desire was manifested by many of the students that some steps should be taken to give expression to our appreciation of the services which had been rendered to us. The students' committee took the matter up, and in the name of the students invited the Council to a tea, at which they presented an address expressive of that appreciation. The address contained a pledge that "when

capability serves, inclination will not be wanting to aid in the good work you have begun." I believe the influences arising from the occasion I have been describing were helpful in every way in promoting the welfare of the College. Its founders were assured that their motives and services were heartily appreciated by the class of men for whose benefit they were giving their time and most serious thought. The students felt themselves drawn into more hearty sympathy with the Council of the College as a whole, and with their own personal teachers individually.

Shortly after the founding of the College the Council opened an adult school in the Hall of Association, Castle Street, Oxford Street, under a paid tutor. This post was held for a short time by Rossiter, and on his leaving London it was offered to me, and I accepted it. Rossiter soon after returned to London, and as I knew that even the small income derived from the fees of the pupils would be of service to him, I offered to give up the teachership to him. This seemed so obvious a thing to do that I was rather surprised to receive from our Principal the following :—

MY DEAR ROEBUCK—I cannot tell you how much your conduct to Rossiter has delighted me. It is just what we hoped would be the effect of the College upon the minds of students and teachers.

I do hope we shall find something else for Rossiter, and that you will go up for the University. God bless you.—Very truly yours, F. D. MAURICE.

February 15,
5 RUSSELL SQUARE.

I need not say I felt very proud to receive such a proof of regard from Mr. Maurice, with whom at this time I had not been brought into close or frequent contact. After taking my certificates in algebra and Euclid, I, with Rossiter, Tansley, Thrower, and Chappell, set seriously to work reading for the Associate examination. We read in class trigonometry, conic sections, logarithms, statics, and dynamics. In addition to our class work we made a practice of adjourning after class hours to the home of one or other of us, and spent whole evenings working out problems and examples.

The first certificate of associateship granted by the College was earned by William Rossiter, for whom, on the grounds that an appointment which he had secured would take him from London, a special examination was arranged.

Tansley, Thrower, Chappell and myself applied for an examination during the summer for the ensuing term, and the result to me was the following certificate :—

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

This is to certify that Mr. John Roebuck, having shown a competent knowledge of the following subjects :—

Bible History—Examiner, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A., Oxford ;
English History—Examiner, the Rev. Professor Brewer, M.A., Queen's College, Oxford ;
Statics and Dynamics—Examiner, C. J. Munro, Esq., late Fellow, Trinity College, Cambridge ;
English Grammar—Examiner, F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge ;

and having before obtained certificates of competency in Algebra and Geometry, is hereby declared an Associate of the College. (Signed) F. D. MAURICE,
Principal.

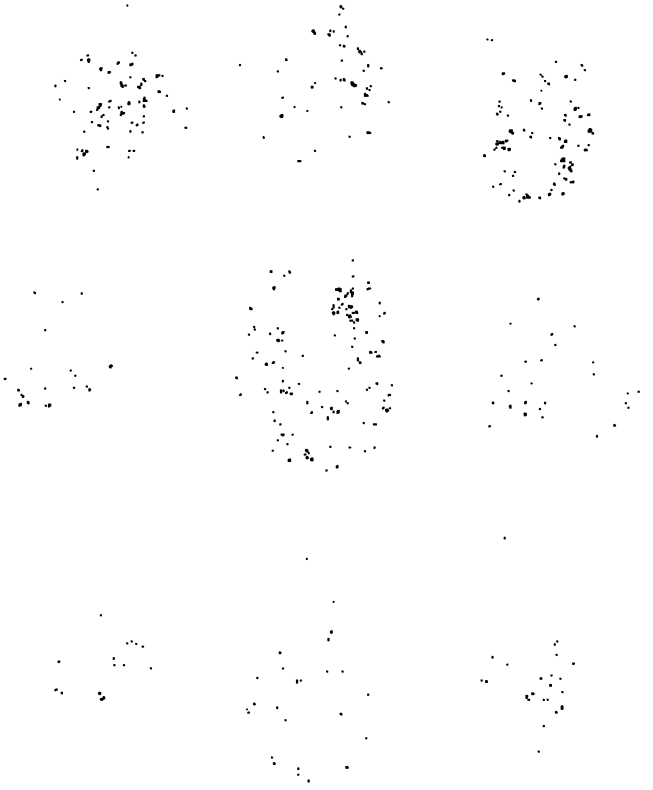
October 1858.

Only Tansley and myself passed this examination successfully. The Associate Examination has been considerably modified since my time. It was found by experience that working men could not give the continuous study which the course demanded, and the Council determined,

after waiting in vain for some years, to accept applicants for the associateship based on a much modified qualification. Rossiter, Tansley, and myself, on passing our examinations, were at once elected Fellows of the College and members of its Council.

Of that trio I am pained to know that I am the sole survivor. It is due to the Principal and Council of that day to acknowledge how gladly we were received into their circle, and how we were invited and urged always to bring before the Council any matters affecting the welfare of the College and the wishes of the students.

Need I say that I greatly appreciated the honour of sitting in council at a table, sometimes at the Principal's house, 5 Russell Square, sometimes at the College, with men who were recognised as leaders in thought and art, law and literature, and were rising to the eminence which has since been associated with the names of Frederick D. Maurice, Professor J. S. Brewer, J. Llewelyn Davies, John Ruskin, Thomas Hughes, John M. Ludlow, Lowes Dickinson, Dante G. Rossetti, F. J. Furnivall, Vernon Lushington, Godfrey Lushington, R. B. Litchfield, Thomas Woolner, John Westlake, Alexander



John n. Ruskin.

J. M. Sullow

Thos Woolner

J. J. Cornwall

Frederick Denison Maurice

Tom Hughes

John Westlake

J. Llewelyn Davies

R. R. Litchfield

Munro, and others, who, in those early days of the College, gathered under the presidency of the Principal to take counsel for the welfare of the College. To pass from my daily work to take my place in that circle was an experience which has fallen to the lot of few men of my class, and formed the most interesting period of my life.

There are two features of our College life which I heartily shared, and which leave with me many enjoyable reflections and reminiscences—our social meetings and our athletic activities. The College devoted a room at the top of the house in Great Ormond Street, whither we removed from Red Lion Square in time for the October term in the year 1857, to be used as a coffee-room, which might also be called a club-room. This was available for use every evening. Light refreshments could be obtained at moderate charges, a convenience which spared some men a long walk home from their work, and from home to the College. After ten o'clock, when all classes finished their work for the evening, the coffee-room attracted men who met for a social chat, with occasional singing and other forms of amusement. But on Wednesday evenings we had a kind of "smoking concert," over

which our well-loved teacher, companion, leader, and friend, "Tom" Hughes, presided; while Furnivall and Litchfield (who had added the teaching of vocal music—part-singing—to that of mathematics) could be depended on to share in our social enjoyment. I can almost hear again our "Jim" Fisher roaring out "The Saucy Arethusa" and "Come cheer up, my lads, 'tis to glory we steer," or some other of Dibdin's sea ditties; and Litchfield's "Leather Bottel," and Hughes's rendering of Thackeray's "Three Sailors of Bristol City" were always thoroughly enjoyed. We had songs and choruses, recitations and readings. Our College Secretary, Thomas Shorter, used to recite some of Macaulay's "Lays," "The Battle of Ivry," "The Armada," and other poems. Tansley read Tennyson. Others who sang or recited were Thrower, Hurst, Rickitts, "Tommy" Martin, "Jack" Bromhall (with a good tenor voice and a capital repertory of the best of the popular songs of the day), the two Suttons, "Harry Wright," "Jim" Donovan (whose "Jaunting Car," sung with his Cockney-fied modification of an Irish brogue, was one of our greatest favourites). But I must not forget Brushmaker Hurst, who would persist in coming

to our "socials" with evidences of the bristles, glue, pitch, etc., used in his business. We condoned his lapse from the proprieties for the genuine nature of the man, and when he sang "The Tight Little Island," as only he could sing it, we rattled out the chorus heartily. I recall the faces and the voices of my friends, as they were from forty to fifty years ago, with a tender and genuine pleasure. And I myself was considered rather a star performer on these occasions, giving recitations from Shakespeare, Tennyson, Hood, Milton, and sundry other poets.

With our social meetings I have coupled our athletic activities. Soon after moving into the Great Ormond Street house we put up a horizontal pole and parallel bars, and laid down on the hard gravel a few loads of tan bark. Then those who could use boxing gloves boxed—any who cared to learn did so; those who preferred exercise without the aggressive attentions of their fellow-members contented themselves with their various contortions on the swinging bar, and developed the muscles of chest, back, and arms on the parallels. Here, again, as in our indoor social enjoyments, Mr. Hughes, on at least one night a week, met all comers with

"the gloves." And a pretty sight it was to see him, with his lithe well-knit form and cheery smile, as, vigorous and alert, he met the onslaught of rougher assailants and boxed gracefully and smartly with those who were more scientific in the use of the gloves.

Then we had cricket. Our first cricket we played at Primrose Hill, then at Gospel Oak Fields, and occasionally we visited other cricket grounds. Our best bowlers were Bromhall, Harry Wright, Fotheringham, Taylor, and Pattison. Our best bats, in addition to these, were Dudmesh, Jackson, and myself.

Let me give an account of an outing to which the students were invited in the summer of 1856 by two of the founders. Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Hughes lived at this period at The Firs, Wimbledon, in two houses joined by a spacious corridor or hall, which the two families used in common as a library. The invitation was for cricket and other games on the common and in the grounds, and for dinner.

Amongst the attractions of the occasion was an exhibition, repeated two or three times during the afternoon and evening,—it was broad daylight until nine o'clock,—of a capacious cabinet

of beautiful and curious butterflies and other varieties of insects by Lord Goderich, a fellow-graduate of Oriel, Oxford, with Mr. Hughes, who was a distinguished entomologist and an able lecturer on the subject. We also had a delightful talk on botany by the Rev. Charles Kingsley. We selected two elevens at cricket, scorers, umpires, etc., Mr. Hughes taking part in the game, the other members of the party either looking on, attending the lectures, or otherwise disposing of their time until evening drew on. At our meal under the tent we had but little speech-making, but a lively conversation went on all around the table. Our friend, F. J. Furnivall, was known as a vegetarian. I remember some enterprising individual had captured, somewhere, an enormous caterpillar, which he sent up on a plate to Mr. Furnivall from the opposite end of the table as the nearest thing in the way of a compromise between animal and vegetable edibles that could be offered to him as a meal. After a rest and a smoke we played leap-frog and anything else we could think of in the now fast-fading twilight. One game I must mention. We divided ourselves into sides, six each, or perhaps five. One side took post with

one man backed up against a tree, the next man bending down and placing his head against the soft part of the first man's body, and the balance bending down and clasping each the man in front of him as tightly as he could, so as to sustain as a whole the impact of the men of the other side, who vaulted as in leap-frog, so as to seat themselves on the backs of their horses. I remember from my position in about the middle of our bridge suddenly having the wind almost knocked out of me by the falling upon me of a weight which seemed about equal to the traditional "thousand of bricks," and hearing a voice, accompanied by a friendly tapping on my haunches, "Good horse! good horse!" the speaker evidently expecting to break his horse's back or loose his hold. That was the only time in my life when I could claim to have borne the weight of empire on my back. The speaker was Lord Goderich, now Marquess of Ripon, negotiator of the Treaty of Washington for the settlement of the Alabama claims, and Viceroy of India.

In the early part of 1859, having partly recovered from the shock of the Indian Mutiny, with its horrors and its heroisms, the minds of the English people were disturbed by certain

threats and denunciations emanating from their neighbours across the Channel. There had been a recent attempt on the life of the Emperor of the French, Louis Napoleon, which had failed in its purpose, and certain Frenchmen and others implicated in the attempt had taken refuge in England. A demand for the extradition of the Italian, Orsini, said to be the chief conspirator, was refused by the British Government, and at a banquet of the colonels of the French army loud protestations were made of a determination to obtain by force what had been denied to the demands of the French Government. The English people came to the wise resolution that prevention would be better than cure or suffering, and the word went forth that the Government would permit the enrolment of volunteers.

At an early part of the year 1859, indeed immediately after the news reached England of the Toulon demonstration, the subject occupied the minds of the members of the Working Men's College in their nightly meetings, and became the single topic of conversation at the Wednesday socials. As might be expected, our "Tom" Hughes was not slow in coming to the conclusion that we, as members of the College, should

take part in the movement, and, as a matter of fact, our College corps was one of the earliest volunteer organisations in London or in England. At a meeting held in the College coffee-room on May 4, a student member of the College surprised us by offering to drill the corps if one were formed. In reply to our inquiries as to his qualifications for the duty, we learned that Philip Read, the student in question, a man of twenty-eight or thirty years of age, a member of Mr. Furnivall's grammar class, had been colour-sergeant in the hard-fighting 33rd Regiment of Infantry, the "Duke of Wellington's Own," and that he had retired from the service in the prime of his physical condition in consequence of receiving a bullet wound in his leg, inside the Redan, at the assault on Sebastopol, five years before. He was at this time telegraph clerk in Buckingham Palace. The 19th Middlesex was a decided success among metropolitan corps, and its success was largely due to the spirit infused into it by its head, and by the skill and energy of its drill-master. Some forty or fifty names were enrolled at our meeting, the name of "Thomas Hughes" being the first on the list, and my own being amongst the number.

I was in no hurry to place my name on the paper. The fact was that the welfare and prosperity of my wife and child occupied my mind, and I took counsel with myself as to where my duty lay under the circumstances. That I signed the paper that evening shows to what conclusion I arrived, and in signing it I determined to do my whole duty by my new obligation. Pending actual enrolment, we received permission to drill under our instructor, and we were initiated into the practice of the "goose-step," "right-face," "left-face," "right-about-face," "attention," "stand-at-ease," etc. We had the usual varieties of apt and inapt recruits; some men took to the work quickly, others but indifferently, but all were in earnest.

I was the first member of the corps who had had no previous outside instruction to drill squads of my comrades. I was named by our captain-commandant, as soon as we were enrolled, under the advice of our drill-master, who was now appointed sergeant-major, the first sergeant of the corps, and so was covering-sergeant to the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*, an honour which I am not likely to forget.

By the time we had learned our rights from

our lefts, and were not likely to turn about half in one direction, half in another, we had to take up the question of commissioned officers, and a meeting of the corps was called for the purpose. This was held in the College coffee-room, on the top floor of the College. I was engaged in teaching my adult school in the basement when my friend, "Eb" Cooke, came to me to say that I had been put in nomination for a commission.

I told Cooke I could not accept the commission, if elected, as I knew nothing of the responsibilities I should be incurring, financial or otherwise. I knew my earnings as a working man, with family responsibilities, eked out as they were by fees of the adult school, would be inadequate to meet any such demands as I feared would be made. "Well," said my friend, "if you mean that, you had better go upstairs and withdraw your name, for there is no question of your being elected if your name stands." This accordingly I did, giving my reasons for declining, and stating my preference for remaining the senior sergeant. The choice for captain fell to John Martineau, B.A., Cambridge, who made a very amiable, painstaking, and efficient officer.

I find that at a meeting of the corps on October 23, 1859, a Committee was chosen, consisting of F. J. Furnivall, John Martineau, Sergeant Read, J. Roebuck, Vernon Lushington, Leonard Sutton, William Barrett, G. Hantler, and J. Fisher, with G. Robins as Treasurer and Thomas Martin and W. H. Ricketts Joint-Secretaries. On that date the number of members was seventy-two. The purpose of the Committee was to take charge of all matters of business of the corps outside its military control, which rested with the captain-commandant. In April 1860 more than two hundred men had entered the corps, and it was found that the assembling and drilling within the precincts of the College were somewhat seriously affecting its proper work. As there was a constant growth of members in the corps, and many men desired to be enrolled who were not members of the College, it was decided to establish permanent headquarters away from the College, for which purpose a house was secured in Queen Square, in its immediate neighbourhood, and to organise two additional companies, one a College company, the fourth a Headquarters company.

The question of uniform had before this time

occupied the attention of the Corps' Committee, and was not decided without considerable discussion and clash of opinion. There were three discordant elements in the corps and in the Committee on this matter. One set wished for an attractive, ornamental uniform, one for an ultra-plain uniform, Garibaldi shirt and belt; while another element desired a neat, military-cut suit, with little in the way of ornamentation. This third party were in the majority, a uniform being adopted in accordance with their wishes.

But this discussion was at a later period than that at which I have arrived. Our immediate task now was the organisation of two additional companies in the corps. Captain Hughes was commissioned major-commandant of the 19th Middlesex, and to complete the full complement of officers, the election of three captains became necessary, Captain Martineau succeeding to the command of No. 1 Company.

I was now urged on all sides to accept a nomination for a commission, and by none more urgently than by our commanding officer. I consented, and on the election came out at the head of the poll, and so became the second senior captain, in command of No. 2 Company, Major

Hughes, as a mark of his personal esteem, presenting me with my regimental sword and equipments.

William Sutton and George Tansley, both old friends, the latter the closest the College ever gave me, were lieutenant and ensign respectively of my company. Sutton was subsequently exchanged to No. 1 Company, Tansley became lieutenant, and Sergeant Roulston, of my company, was promoted to the ensigncy. It should be said that Sergeant-Major Read was, on the enrolment of the 19th as a battalion of four companies, appointed adjutant by the War Office, with the rank of lieutenant, I believe, at which we all rejoiced. He has since received regular promotion according to army regulations. While I am saying a few words about my friend, Philip Read, I may mention that he, like myself, was a Leicestershire man, and a first-class specimen of the Midland Counties' breed of Englishmen. We were always the best of friends and comrades on the drill-ground, in the College, in the cricket field, or elsewhere.

As soon as No. 2 Company was given into our hands, my brother officers and myself set to work, without waiting for commissions, to get it

into as good a shape as we could for drill and parade purposes, as it was understood that the Queen would shortly hold a Review in Hyde Park of all the metropolitan rifle force. This came off on June 23, 1860, in regular "Queen's weather."

Among the facilities offered by the War Office to members of the volunteer force for acquiring a knowledge of their duties, and to enable them to teach the use of the rifle to their comrades and commands, was a course of musketry instruction at the Government "School of Musketry" at Hythe, on the Kentish coast, of which General Hay was the head and Colonel Wilford the chief instructor. Two members of the 19th availed themselves of the shorter course (Ensign Tansley, No. 2 Company, and Mr. Allnut of the 8th or Belmont Company), and I believe one, Captain Williams, of the full course. It may be worth mentioning that all the details of the range adopted by the United States Government when, after the close of the Civil War, American soldiers were taught, for the first time in any systematic way, to properly use and understand their then modern rifle, the Springfield, were borrowed from the English system.

The Creedmoor range on Long Island was the first rifle range established on modern lines, and targets, butts, and marking pits and shelters were adopted from the British models. I shot over the range myself, and was present at the match between the American and British teams with military rifles, when Sir Henry Halford (another Leicestershire man, by the way) brought over a mixed team of regulars and volunteers.

Let me quote here two letters from Major Hughes :—

WHARFESIDE, BURLEY, NEAR OTLEY,
September 5, 1860.

DEAR ROEBUCK—Furnivall writes to me amongst other things of the party at headquarters the other day. The man at No. 13 groaned about the singing, but he must get inured to it. Now I am sure I need not caution you to make as little noise as possible. Putting oneself in the place of the man at No. 13, one can quite fancy that the headquarters at No. 14 may be a considerable nuisance, so let us make it as little of one as we can. Will you let Read know my views on this point? As a rule, I think the house should be shut at ten. I should be very glad to hear whether Read has passed the examination. I trust to you to communicate anything of importance which may happen just now. By the way, why do not the officers elect send me their papers to sign? Their commissions will of course be delayed in this matter. Tell Read to let me hear how matters go on through Ricketts (his clerk) if he likes while you are away. There

has been some dissatisfaction, I hear, about my endeavour to send Robins to Hythe. Your name was not mentioned, but if you feel at all aggrieved, please apply to Tansley, to whom I have written on the subject. You will much oblige me if you can do anything towards making matters pleasant for Robins, who will make a capital officer, and whom I am anxious to fix in the corps. I hope you will enjoy your holiday.—Ever yours most truly,

THOMAS HUGHES.

WHARFESIDE, *September* 8, 1860.

DEAR ROEBUCK—Your letter went to Otley, and lay there some days, so that I only got it this morning. I had already heard of the feeling you mentioned. I have written to Tansley on the subject, and think it unnecessary to make any further explanation by letter. Let the officers who feel themselves aggrieved come and talk the matter over. As the chance of being able to send a man at all came to me as a matter of private friendship from Lord de Grey, and had nothing whatever to do with the corps in an official way, it never occurred to me to bring it before the body of officers any more than it would have to consult them, if I were going to give a dinner, whom I should ask. However, I shall be very glad to talk the matter over either with the body of officers (which will be the best, I think) or with the injured individuals in October. The bill of Jones and Co. which you mention was not enclosed, so I can't append my signature to it, but I send you an order which will do as well, I take it. I also enclose order for bugles.

I have given Read authority to confirm for me all the promotions which the Captains may wish to make, so it had better be done by him in any way you agree on.

I hope you will have headquarters kept in good order, so that the gentleman next door may have no really fair grounds for complaint. I have been practising at the distances up to 400, and on the whole have shot well.—Yours ever most truly, THOS. HUGHES.

When our Volunteer Review, in which 18,000 men marched past Her Majesty the Queen, the Prince Consort, and all the notables of the kingdom, was well over, we addressed ourselves to the study and practice of musketry, not, be it understood, by actually firing off powder, either in blank or ball cartridge—we should have learned little from that—but to an understanding of the theory and principle of rifle construction and the forces brought into play in firing. We learned to dissect the rifle, to dismount lock and barrel, to properly clean the parts, with the names thereof—twelve of the lock, fourteen of the stock, and seven of the barrel—of an Enfield rifle. We practised aiming drill, using a sandbag on a tripod for a rest, and miniature targets to aim at. We had position drill, and learned to squeeze (not pull) the trigger, so that we did not deflect the aim in the act of firing, in fact, becoming (those of us who had the faculty of arriving there) competent

riflemen and good shots without firing a cartridge.

It was the keynote of the Hythe system. In actual firing on the range we learned only to allow for the effects of rain, light, and different degrees of dryness or moisture of the atmosphere. But it was here we gave proof of the efficacy of our teaching, study, and personal fitness.

In 1861 the corps entered in regular form on its course of musketry instruction. Classes were arranged under the instruction of such of our men as had qualified themselves under Mr. Tansley's teaching. Prizes were offered for competition, a Regimental Challenge Cup, which was won by Sergeant Hooper of No. 2 Company, a Regimental Company Challenge Cup, to be shot for by squads of ten men from each company (our corps now numbered ten companies), the cup to be held for a year by the winning company; the man who made the highest score in the winning squad received as a personal prize a silver medal bearing the year's date.

I may say now that in 1861 my company, No. 2, won the cup; in 1862 it made the highest average score per man, but by the loss of three single scores by absences at certain ranges it

did not win; and in 1863 it repeated its victory of 1861, again winning the cup; in both these successful years I had the good fortune to make the highest scores for my squad. By looking over to a corner of the room in which I am now writing I can see those two silver medals, with other valued souvenirs of my skill as a rifleman. Owing to want of time I was unable to complete my class firing in 1861. I passed into the first class, but did not fire over the long ranges. In 1862, however, it was my good fortune to make a score at those ranges—650, 700, 800, 900 yards—to beat the record, as we say nowadays, by making a score of 22 points, 7 points qualifying for a marksman's badge. I thus took rank as the best shot in the regiment, and was entitled to wear on the sleeve of my tunic a horizontal rifle with three stars (a decoration, by the bye, which I never did wear). By this score I won a small-bore rifle, which on a silver plate bears this inscription, "1st prize, 1st class, won by Capt. Jno. Roebuck with 22 points."

In December 1862 our prizes were distributed by General M'Murdo in Westminster Hall, and from his hands I received my rifle, which

is most religiously cared for to this day. In his speech of presentation he referred to the inspection he made of our corps of two companies in the grounds of the London University College, speaking of us as the first corps he was asked to see on his appointment of Inspector of Rifle Corps, and the confidence he then acquired in the success of the movement, from the proficiency already attained by the corps, and the smartness of the covering sergeants in taking up positions and alignments.

I remember a field day on Epsom Downs under the command of General M'Murdo. The 19th formed the left of the line, the 22nd or Westminster Rifles the right. The General gave an order which was apparently misunderstood, and the regiment on the right began to advance, the whole brigade being in line. I think I see him now, as he tore down in front of the line, mounted on a magnificent charger, as fine a specimen of a soldier physically as a man might see, giving utterance to language too vigorous for a drawing-room. We performed the usual movements of a brigade drill, marching in line and echelon column, changing front, forming squares, file and volley firing, throwing

out skirmishers, etc., etc., which, with our march from and to the railway station, "o'er the downs so free," on a fine summer Saturday afternoon and evening, made an enjoyable outing for us pent-up Londoners. But more vivid than M'Murdo's gallop in front of our lines was a sight which greeted our eyes as we returned from our field day. Before we left the downs we saw in the distance, as the daylight faded, evidence of a fire—where, we could not conjecture; we had to get well on our way before we could realise that the fire we saw from Epsom Downs could possibly be in London. As we approached the great city we saw towering up into the heavens an enormous mass of dense black vapour, something of a pear shape, but with the top outspread to a great distance, the edges of which were beautifully silvered by the light of a clear and brilliant moon. It was the great Tooley Street fire which destroyed millions sterling worth of property, and cost the life of the Chief of the Metropolitan Fire Department, Mr. Braidwood, whose funeral, be it said, was one of the sights of the Metropolis.

It will be easily understood that in those days the assembling of a force of twenty to

twenty-five thousand men at any point on a given day was a considerable feat, and there can be no question that the work was as instructive to the general officers of the regular army as to the volunteers. I believe there was no Aldershot camp at that period, and for years little or nothing had been done in England in the massing and manœuvring of large bodies of troops.

With the extension and reorganisation of the 19th our Commander, Major Hughes, resigned the command, on the ground that it should be held by a professional soldier, and Lieut.-Colonel Bathurst, late of the Coldstream Guards and of the German Legion which served in the Crimea, was placed in charge. Major Hughes retained his rank as Field-officer, the Rev. F. D. Maurice was commissioned as Chaplain of the Regiment, Captain Philip Read as Adjutant, and the Company Commanders were Captains Martineau, Roebuck, Furnivall, Hantler, Shaen, Oxley, Robins, Williams, and M'Donnell.

A Shakespearian Reading Club was formed in the early days of the College, of which I possess a photographic group taken by William Jeffreys,

our College photographic artist at Highgate, in which appear William Sutton, L. Sutton, J. Fisher, W. Thrower, J. E. Baguley, G. Tansley, E. Cooke, W. H. Ricketts, R. Fleming, A. Gardner, J. Roebuck. The readers were "cast" for their parts, and after the reading, discussion of the play ensued. We derived both interest and pleasure from our meetings. Many other men besides those whose names appear above took part in this intellectual pastime and study, notably William Payton and a group of the young men who joined the College in its early years, but not on its foundation. They naturally formed groups and circles of their own, for they heartily embraced the idea of work and enjoyment in common, which the earlier students had developed.

I have here referred to two men, Alec Gardner and William Payton, with whom my relation became very close as friends, yet neither can be said to belong to my early College circle. Gardner was an officer in the 19th, but not in a College company. Payton was a member, sergeant, if I recollect truly, of No. 1 Company, and was known to me as an acute, quick-witted youngster in the College classes, a successful

student of languages, a shorthand writer, who eventually found his vocation in an appointment as secretary and confidential man to John Pender, Esq., afterwards Sir John Pender. My relations were renewed with Payton here in the States some few years after the time I am now recalling.

Gardner developed a disease which eventually caused his death while yet a young man. In 1868, during a short visit to London after a four years' absence, I called on him at his home. Long before this we had got to know and to highly regard each other. He suddenly said, "O Jack, I wish we had known each other years before we did. You are just the man for a close friend to me. The fact was, however, I could not bring myself to believe you fellows at the College were not a stuck-up lot. Now I know I was mistaken, and all my closest friendships are there." Both Alec and his sister, Elizabeth Gardner, who became a sharer in College enjoyments, were members of the Institute in John Street, Fitzroy Square. I feel that without putting on record my testimony to the worth of these two men, my reminiscences would be incomplete.

In 1861 came the Civil War in the United States, with its attendant disastrous results to the Lancashire cotton operatives. The members of the Working Men's College started a relief fund, collected chiefly in weekly contributions, of which they made me Secretary and Treasurer. However, I was always the "willing horse." An unpleasant experience occurred at this time which carried with it its own antidote, but caused a great deal of nervous anxiety to my wife. It happened that both my wife and myself had provided ourselves with new clothing, for which, with our very moderate means, we had to save up for a considerable time. These, together with money of our own and some money belonging to our relief fund, were stolen. I confided my trouble to Tansley, and possibly one or two other friends, and in a short time was the recipient of a letter in the following terms, accompanied by a gift which enabled me to tide over my trouble and replace the funds I had lost.

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE.

DEAR MR. ROEBUCK—We, a few of your friends and fellow-members of the College and corps, wish hereby to express our sympathy with you in your late misfortune. We feel that your self-imposed and uninterrupted work

for both of these institutions ever since they have been in existence has long called for an expression of our gratitude. We therefore take this opportunity of saying that we thank you most heartily and sincerely for the earnest and kindly way in which you have worked with us and for us.

We further hope you will accept the accompanying testimonial as a slight mark of our great friendship.—From your friends and fellow-workers,

F. D. Maurice.
F. J. Furnivall.
R. L. Fleming.
W. H. Hooper.
W. Sutton.
Philip Read.
Henry John Wright.
John E. Baguley.
W. Pattison.
John Bromhall.
William Sturgeon.
Thomas Hughes.
J. M. Ludlow.
R. B. Litchfield.
J. Dougall.
Vernon Lushington.
Henry J. E. Rawlins.
William Thrower.
W. C. Roulston.
S. Standring.
George Allen.
William Barrett.
John Martineau.
A. C. Lawrence.
E. Cooke.
James Fisher.
Godfrey Lushington.
Thomas Shorter.
J. R. Evans.
George Tansley.
John Fotheringham.
Charles Crawley.
Thomas Preston.

I may here close my reminiscences so far as my actual work in the College and its offspring, the corps, is concerned. Together they recall the years of my life to which I can look back

with most happy recollections, and I think, almost with a shudder, what a blank life must have been but for the existence of the College.

JOHN ROEBUCK.

WHICHENDON, MASS., U.S.A.

ADDRESS TO JOHN ROEBUCK, Fellow of the Working Men's College, London, on his departure for America.

We, in whose behalf this Address is signed by Mr. Maurice, our Principal, are all, as Teachers and Students, Members of the Working Men's College; many of us, as you will recognise, are your personal friends.

We could not let you go from amongst us, and seek a new home in another land, without declaring to you the thoughts and feelings with which we part. This parchment must now speak to you for us, as it were for the last time; but we know that it has a journey to make, and an honoured resting-place in prospect, and there we hope it may often silently remind you of us.

We look back upon the past and remember how you have been a part of the College from its foundation. In the autumn of 1854 you came with our earliest students; already in 1855 you assisted in the work of teaching by conducting a Preparatory Class; in March 1856 you won by examination a Certificate in Algebra and Euclid; in May 1857 you took charge of our Adult Evening School, a charge you have kept to the present time; in October 1858 you were elected, not without further examination, Associate of the College, and almost immediately afterwards Fellow and Member of the Council of Teachers. You have served long on our Executive and Finance

Committee, taking a large share of that quiet household work, which (we are too apt to forget) requires not only so much time, but so much patience, so much consideration, so much carefulness for things great as well as small.

Lastly, you have for four years been Captain of one of our College companies in the 19th Middlesex Volunteers, and as such notably successful. These are your College honours, your College services—to us a memorable roll. Manfully have you, a working man, trod what we call the royal road to knowledge—diligence; and in our little society in which you have moved so continually you have always been to us an upright, faithful, and most helpful friend, sustaining by example the best purposes of the College, emphatically one of us, heartily giving of your best to us, heartily accepting what we in turn had to bestow. For this we are most especially grateful, for without you, and men like you, our Working Men's College, in so many respects, and above all in its social aims, an experiment, must have been a short-lived enterprise.

And now we look forward across the Atlantic and fancy we see you in New York a thriving citizen, respected and honoured by many friends and neighbours, bearing your new fortunes, trials, and all in the old manly way; nor yet forgetful of the old friends in Old England and the days that were, and our blessing goes with you.

Though we must now part, we believe that (were the Atlantic twice as broad) we shall be fellow-workers still, fellow-workers in the good cause in which you have striven here. That the poor man, and in a sense all men, may win the privileges that wait on knowledge; that the clear voice of truth may be better heard; that class may be united to class, not by necessity only, but by generous

duties and common sympathies; that the humblest labour shall be accounted honourable, and the daily life of the worker be felt to be, as it is, a sacred trust to himself and his fellow-men,—here is our task and yours, our hope and your hope, for

> Unto him who works, and knows he works,
> This same grand year is ever at the door.

And so with affectionate regret and yet with affectionate gladness and hope, your old friends now say to you Good-bye.

(Signed for all) FREDERICK D. MAURICE,
Principal.

LETTER FROM MR. MAURICE

March 23, 1864.

MY DEAR ROEBUCK—I was out of London when your note arrived. I hope to see you to-morrow, but I must write a line to say God bless you wherever you are, and whatever you are doing. I am sure I do not speak these words idly. I believe He will bless you and give you the best gifts of light and love. I am a little ashamed to burden you with books, especially one's own. Still I have a sort of wish to speak to you in another land, and if I might anyhow send you some of those with which I have troubled the world, without adding to your packing, I should like it. Perhaps you could tell me to whom my publisher might consign in New York. Pray give my best wishes to Mrs. Roebuck and your children.—Ever yours affectionately, F. D. MAURICE.

A TRANSITION PERIOD:
R. B. LITCHFIELD

THE period of the College history to be treated in this chapter begins in the year 1872, after the death of Professor Maurice, its founder and first Principal, and covers the following seven or eight years. It includes the Vice-Principalship of Mr. R. B. Litchfield from 1872 to 1875, the three years during which, under his direction and guidance, the actual reorganisation of the College was accomplished. The following few years saw its development carried out successfully on the new lines by a renewed and reformed governing body. To understand the critical condition of the College at the time of Mr. Maurice's death and to appreciate properly its difficulties and dangers, and the pressing need of a firm hand and wise head to place it on a sound and permanent foundation, the forces and influences that had tended alike to its strength and to its weakness

must be borne in mind, forces which, to a certain extent, had realised the conception of its founder, but which had failed to give it such an organisation as alone could make it permanent. First and foremost was the personality of Maurice. His broad-minded Christianity, perfect tolerance, absolute truth, and great humility had attracted to himself and kept united a number of very capable men, who, despite differences of belief and divergent views of life, all joined enthusiastically with him in carrying out his idea of establishing a real College for working men. Such a band as were the founders of the Working Men's College could not fail to attract, as students, earnest men who, under the influence of their lives and teaching, speedily formed a brotherhood such as Maurice desired. This fellowship among the earliest members was at once a strength and a weakness to the College. A strength inasmuch as it founded a social life on a true basis, a weakness in that it brought about the formation of a sort of inner circle in the College life to which it was difficult for new-comers to gain access, and which led for a time to a want of cohesion among the students, and hindered them in pulling together

for the advancement and development of the College. The first four or five years, however, were markedly promising and prosperous; the students were earnest and devoted to their class work, in which good progress was made and many successes achieved. The regular attendance and participation in the social life of the common room of Litchfield, Furnivall, the two Lushingtons, Hughes, and others of the earlier teachers exercised a far-reaching influence on the characters and lives of the students; but here again the want of a definite constitution under which they could work for the benefit of the College prevented much that might otherwise have been done. In 1859 came the volunteer movement, into which, under the leadership of Mr. Hughes, the students threw themselves with great vigour, and a College corps was formed. This brought about a considerable increase in the number of members, but without corresponding advantage to the College, inasmuch as the new members came not as students but for the purpose of belonging to the corps, while some of the best students were drawn away from their class work. The effect of the volunteer movement on the College work had the earnest and anxious attention of the heads

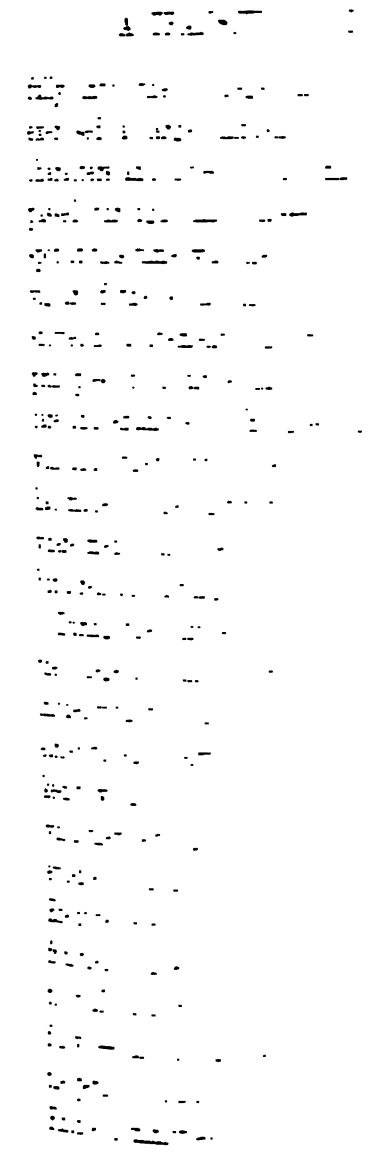
of the College; but, while fully alive to the distraction and interruption which it produced, on the whole, they considered that the attraction of larger numbers to the College would outweigh the injury to the classes, which they trusted would only be temporary. The following ten years were years of vicissitudes for the College; in spite of many successful classes the tendency was backward; time was inevitably taking away most of those who had been the first teachers of the classes and directors of the work, and their places had not been filled. Many of the classes languished, especially the Art classes, which seemed unable to recover from the loss of the personal influence of Mr. Ruskin and the earlier teachers. The College, always very poor, was also drifting into financial difficulties; the generosity of its friends had enabled it to acquire the freehold of the two houses in Great Ormond Street, but the building of the new rooms had necessitated borrowing a considerable sum, and the increase of expenditure caused by the expansion, together with the interest on the loans, produced a recurring annual deficit. The governing body was quite incompetent to cope with these increasing difficulties. It had never

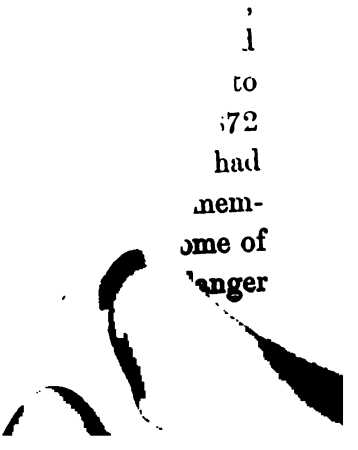
received a definite constitution, and, formed originally as a council of teachers under the presidency of Mr. Maurice, it had carried on the management of the College simply by resolutions.

For the purpose of vesting the College property in the Council, the latter was formed into a company (unlimited) under the Joint Stock Companies Act of 1856. Its articles of association were registered on April 18, 1857. They contained no further indication of the character of the College than is contained in the words "Working Men's College." The articles of association provided that "the directors of the company shall be the Principal and Council for the time being of the College." The articles were signed by F. J. Furnivall, J. M. Ludlow, W. Pulley, T. R. Bennett, W. J. Brodribb, C. Kingsley. The formation of this company was a great mistake. It was not fitted to fulfil the purposes for which it was created, and obviously could not properly perform the function of trustee. The company and Council being one, the Council was trustee for itself! Further, the step thus taken estranged from the College two or three of its earliest and best friends and supporters, who withdrew from the Council,

declining to be turned into "directors of a joint stock company" with unlimited liability. As new teachers joined the College they were added to the Council as life members, and the body thus became in time much too large and unwieldy for its work. The Council in 1872 was composed of some sixty members, about half of whom had withdrawn from the College, many having gone abroad or ceased to live in London. Of the rest, ten or fifteen very rarely attended the meetings, and then only on special occasions. Thus being quite out of touch with the work, they not infrequently proved a hindrance rather than a help to the three or four men who were actually managing the College. The work of government and direction was deputed to two or three members as an Executive Committee, but this committee had no real power or right of initiative, and when it required the advice and aid of the Council, there was frequently a difficulty in getting sufficient members together to form a quorum. Further, the committee was crippled by the lack of funds necessary to secure the services of a capable secretary. The first secretary, Thomas Shorter, who had been very efficient in the early years of the College and

was greatly esteemed by the founders, had become unequal to the work, and by reason of approaching blindness had to resign his post. The Committee, at that time unable to replace him by a paid secretary, endeavoured to carry on the secretarial work themselves, and G. Tansley, W. Rossiter, and H. Rawlins each for a time undertook the work as volunteers, but this arrangement could not be permanent. In 1867 the Executive Committee consisted of E. S. Ford, R. B. Litchfield, and Henry Rawlins; in 1871 of R. B. Litchfield, H. Rawlins, and W. Cave Thomas. In spite of the earnestness and devotion of these committees to the welfare of the College, difficulties accumulated, the classes (with the exception of the modern language division) drooped, the attendance of the students declined, and difficulty was experienced in securing a sufficient supply of University men as teachers. A marked exception to this general decline was to be found in the French classes, which, under the able and energetic teaching of Mr. (now Dr.) Eugene Oswald, attained great success and popularity, and were more numerously attended than any others. Mr. Oswald was not only a most capable teacher, but he entered





show their interest in the College in the most satisfactory and substantial manner by devoting themselves to the care of its property and expenditure." Other students undertook the teaching of the adult school and the preparatory classes, in which work they gave proof of both zeal and ability. In 1867 one of the number[1] volunteered to arrange, classify, and catalogue the library, then a chaotic mass of about 5000 dusty books without a number or label among them. This, with the aid of several of his comrades, he succeeded in doing, and after nearly two years' work the library was reduced to good order, and the books, all labelled and arranged, and a manuscript catalogue, in which the books were classified in subjects, were handed over to a committee of students. This committee obtained several important additions to the library, notably the first gifts of books from the Gilchrist and Peel Memorial Funds. Good work was also being done by the students in the museum. The men thus employed in the College work became keenly alive to the want of organisation in the College government, and their activity resulted in many suggestions for

[1] Mr. Forster.—Ed.

its improvement being discussed, and in consultative meetings between teachers and students.

The death of Maurice in April 1872 hastened, if it did not produce, a crisis in the life of the College. The loss was at once felt of the broad mind and unique personality that had bound and held together men of all classes, occupations, and creeds, and fear arose in many minds that, this great power having departed from it, the College would fail. There were, however, fortunately men of more robust faith who would not admit that Maurice's work could be lost, and when the Vice-Principal (Mr. Brewer) resigned on account of failing health, Thomas Hughes undertook the Principalship and R. B. Litchfield became Vice-Principal, both determined that the College should become one of the permanent institutions of the country. Nevertheless the difficulties to be overcome were great, and it is probable that men of less capacity and influence than these two proved themselves to be must have failed. As it was, the year 1872 was certainly the most anxious the College had passed through. Many conferences of the members were held, and as the students and some of the teachers became impressed with the danger

of the condition into which the College was drifting, the agitation for the reformation of the governing body gained strength. At length, on May 24, 1872, the Council passed the following resolution :—

> That the students of three years' standing, and who have attended classes four terms, be requested to elect three of their number to consider, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, and to report to the Council, whether any, and if any what, changes may be advantageously made in the mode of governing and administering the College.

A meeting of the students was held, at which T. Catterns, J. A. Forster, and Frank Murray were elected to serve on the Committee proposed by the above resolution, and the Committee was finally constituted in August 1872 as follows :—

The Rev. J. S. Brewer, *Vice-Principal;* Rev. Ll. D. Bevan, Messrs. T. Catterns, J. A. Forster, R. B. Litchfield, H. N. Mozley, F. Murray, H. Rawlins, C. Robinson, G. Tansley, W. Cave Thomas.

After the autumn vacation the Committee instituted a most searching investigation into the needs of the College and of every branch

of its work. The constitutions under which other Colleges were governed, notably that of Girton College, were studied and examined, with the view of profiting by their experience. Several schemes of reorganisation were put forward and carefully considered and sometimes warmly debated. The student members urged most strenuously the necessity for a thorough reconstitution of the Council as the governing body, and the formation of a body of trustees, separate from it, which should have charge of the College property and be the guardian of its objects.

Those who exerted themselves most actively in framing constitutions for the College were the representative students (especially Messrs. Catterns, Forster, and Tansley), Mr. Litchfield and Mr. Ludlow. During the period of agitation Mr. Litchfield, who was acting as Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry, was appointed Vice-Principal, and had dictatorial powers given to him to carry on the administration of the College, with the aid of any coadjutors whom he might choose to assist him. This was on February 13, 1873. At meetings of the Council held in February and March such progress was made in the discussion of the proposals for the

government of the College submitted by Mr. Litchfield and his Committee, that by April 2 resolutions embodying a complete scheme were adopted, subject to confirmation at a subsequent meeting. This meeting was not to be summoned until a draft memorandum and articles, which Mr. Westlake undertook to prepare, should have been printed and circulated. But it was found that these could not be ready before the vacation; and the need of action was so urgent that a meeting of the Council was summoned for July 1, by a notice bearing the signatures of T. Hughes, J. Ll. Davies,[1] and R. B. Litchfield.

This meeting, on July 1, 1873, was a memorable one in the history of the College, for it brought the long discussion to a crisis. Mr. Ludlow and two or three others still resisted the proposed changes. Mr. Hughes, who presided, called upon the student members of Council and the student delegates to state their opinions. This they did, and Mr. Hughes then declared that he was convinced by their arguments and should support the resolutions in their entirety. After a final and impressive appeal by Mr. Ludlow

[1] In 1856 I was appointed Hon. Secretary to the Council of Teachers, and I suppose I was still acting in that capacity.—Ed.

R. B. Litchfield

received a definite constitution, and, formed originally as a council of teachers under the presidency of Mr. Maurice, it had carried on the management of the College simply by resolutions.

For the purpose of vesting the College property in the Council, the latter was formed into a company (unlimited) under the Joint Stock Companies Act of 1856. Its articles of association were registered on April 18, 1857. They contained no further indication of the character of the College than is contained in the words "Working Men's College." The articles of association provided that "the directors of the company shall be the Principal and Council for the time being of the College." The articles were signed by F. J. Furnivall, J. M. Ludlow, W. Pulley, T. R. Bennett, W. J. Brodribb, C. Kingsley. The formation of this company was a great mistake. It was not fitted to fulfil the purposes for which it was created, and obviously could not properly perform the function of trustee. The company and Council being one, the Council was trustee for itself! Further, the step thus taken estranged from the College two or three of its earliest and best friends and supporters, who withdrew from the Council,

declining to be turned into "directors of a joint stock company" with unlimited liability. As new teachers joined the College they were added to the Council as life members, and the body thus became in time much too large and unwieldy for its work. The Council in 1872 was composed of some sixty members, about half of whom had withdrawn from the College, many having gone abroad or ceased to live in London. Of the rest, ten or fifteen very rarely attended the meetings, and then only on special occasions. Thus being quite out of touch with the work, they not infrequently proved a hindrance rather than a help to the three or four men who were actually managing the College. The work of government and direction was deputed to two or three members as an Executive Committee, but this committee had no real power or right of initiative, and when it required the advice and aid of the Council, there was frequently a difficulty in getting sufficient members together to form a quorum. Further, the committee was crippled by the lack of funds necessary to secure the services of a capable secretary. The first secretary, Thomas Shorter, who had been very efficient in the early years of the College and

was greatly esteemed by the founders, had become unequal to the work, and by reason of approaching blindness had to resign his post. The Committee, at that time unable to replace him by a paid secretary, endeavoured to carry on the secretarial work themselves, and G. Tansley, W. Rossiter, and H. Rawlins each for a time undertook the work as volunteers, but this arrangement could not be permanent. In 1867 the Executive Committee consisted of E. S. Ford, R. B. Litchfield, and Henry Rawlins; in 1871 of R. B. Litchfield, H. Rawlins, and W. Cave Thomas. In spite of the earnestness and devotion of these committees to the welfare of the College, difficulties accumulated, the classes (with the exception of the modern language division) drooped, the attendance of the students declined, and difficulty was experienced in securing a sufficient supply of University men as teachers. A marked exception to this general decline was to be found in the French classes, which, under the able and energetic teaching of Mr. (now Dr.) Eugene Oswald, attained great success and popularity, and were more numerously attended than any others. Mr. Oswald was not only a most capable teacher, but he entered

fully into the College life and spirit, and exercised a large influence for good on the characters and lives of the many students who passed through his classes. Another bright spot at this time was the continued and healthy vigour of the social life of the College, which showed no abatement, and was a proof that the principles of Maurice had, under the fostering care and example of Hughes, Litchfield, Furnivall, and others, produced a lasting effect, and had made of the institution not merely a place where men could be taught well and cheaply, but a real and living college.

During the sixties there was growing up in the College a younger group of students deeply imbued with its spirit and eager to emulate the earlier students, fervent disciples of the Principal, keen to work for the place held so dear, and to which they felt that they owed so much. An evidence of their anxiety to help is that the Executive were able to form a Finance Committee from their number. This committee is referred to by Mr. Maurice in the seventh report as follows:—"Much has been done to save us from the perils of financial embarrassment by the Finance Committee, a body of students who

show their interest in the College in the most satisfactory and substantial manner by devoting themselves to the care of its property and expenditure." Other students undertook the teaching of the adult school and the preparatory classes, in which work they gave proof of both zeal and ability. In 1867 one of the number[1] volunteered to arrange, classify, and catalogue the library, then a chaotic mass of about 5000 dusty books without a number or label among them. This, with the aid of several of his comrades, he succeeded in doing, and after nearly two years' work the library was reduced to good order, and the books, all labelled and arranged, and a manuscript catalogue, in which the books were classified in subjects, were handed over to a committee of students. This committee obtained several important additions to the library, notably the first gifts of books from the Gilchrist and Peel Memorial Funds. Good work was also being done by the students in the museum. The men thus employed in the College work became keenly alive to the want of organisation in the College government, and their activity resulted in many suggestions for

[1] Mr. Forster.—Ed.

its improvement being discussed, and in consultative meetings between teachers and students.

The death of Maurice in April 1872 hastened, if it did not produce, a crisis in the life of the College. The loss was at once felt of the broad mind and unique personality that had bound and held together men of all classes, occupations, and creeds, and fear arose in many minds that, this great power having departed from it, the College would fail. There were, however, fortunately men of more robust faith who would not admit that Maurice's work could be lost, and when the Vice-Principal (Mr. Brewer) resigned on account of failing health, Thomas Hughes undertook the Principalship and R. B. Litchfield became Vice-Principal, both determined that the College should become one of the permanent institutions of the country. Nevertheless the difficulties to be overcome were great, and it is probable that men of less capacity and influence than these two proved themselves to be must have failed. As it was, the year 1872 was certainly the most anxious the College had passed through. Many conferences of the members were held, and as the students and some of the teachers became impressed with the danger

of the condition into which the College was drifting, the agitation for the reformation of the governing body gained strength. At length, on May 24, 1872, the Council passed the following resolution :—

> That the students of three years' standing, and who have attended classes four terms, be requested to elect three of their number to consider, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, and to report to the Council, whether any, and if any what, changes may be advantageously made in the mode of governing and administering the College.

A meeting of the students was held, at which T. Catterns, J. A. Forster, and Frank Murray were elected to serve on the Committee proposed by the above resolution, and the Committee was finally constituted in August 1872 as follows :—

The Rev. J. S. Brewer, *Vice-Principal;* Rev. Ll. D. Bevan, Messrs. T. Catterns, J. A. Forster, R. B. Litchfield, H. N. Mozley, F. Murray, H. Rawlins, C. Robinson, G. Tansley, W. Cave Thomas.

After the autumn vacation the Committee instituted a most searching investigation into the needs of the College and of every branch

of its work. The constitutions under which other Colleges were governed, notably that of Girton College, were studied and examined, with the view of profiting by their experience. Several schemes of reorganisation were put forward and carefully considered and sometimes warmly debated. The student members urged most strenuously the necessity for a thorough reconstitution of the Council as the governing body, and the formation of a body of trustees, separate from it, which should have charge of the College property and be the guardian of its objects.

Those who exerted themselves most actively in framing constitutions for the College were the representative students (especially Messrs. Catterns, Forster, and Tansley), Mr. Litchfield and Mr. Ludlow. During the period of agitation Mr. Litchfield, who was acting as Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry, was appointed Vice-Principal, and had dictatorial powers given to him to carry on the administration of the College, with the aid of any coadjutors whom he might choose to assist him. This was on February 13, 1873. At meetings of the Council held in February and March such progress was made in the discussion of the proposals for the

government of the College submitted by Mr. Litchfield and his Committee, that by April 2 resolutions embodying a complete scheme were adopted, subject to confirmation at a subsequent meeting. This meeting was not to be summoned until a draft memorandum and articles, which Mr. Westlake undertook to prepare, should have been printed and circulated. But it was found that these could not be ready before the vacation; and the need of action was so urgent that a meeting of the Council was summoned for July 1, by a notice bearing the signatures of T. Hughes, J. Ll. Davies,[1] and R. B. Litchfield.

This meeting, on July 1, 1873, was a memorable one in the history of the College, for it brought the long discussion to a crisis. Mr. Ludlow and two or three others still resisted the proposed changes. Mr. Hughes, who presided, called upon the student members of Council and the student delegates to state their opinions. This they did, and Mr. Hughes then declared that he was convinced by their arguments and should support the resolutions in their entirety. After a final and impressive appeal by Mr. Ludlow

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R. B. Litchfield

OF WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

F. Holliger, photo. Emery Walker, lith. sc.

R. B. Litchfield

the resolutions were carried. The task confided to Mr. Litchfield and his Executive Committee by the resolutions of the Council was no light one; it meant inducing the old Company to consent to voluntary liquidation, and the Council, then consisting of life members, practically to resign and submit to re-election on a triennial basis. When it is borne in mind that the proposed changes had been met with keen opposition, the difficulty of carrying them into effect will be appreciated, and the patience and tact shown by Mr. Litchfield in overcoming it will be fully recognised. On March 17, 1874, the Principal and Council, as directors of the Working Men's College Company, called a general meeting of the shareholders, at which it was finally resolved that the Company should be wound up voluntarily, that Thomas Hughes, Esq., and R. B. Litchfield, Esq., should be the liquidators for winding up its affairs, and that the property of the Company should be made over by the liquidators to a new company, which was to be incorporated with the memorandum and articles of association approved by the Council of the College. So the old Company ceased to exist, and on November 4, 1874, the College was

incorporated under the Company's Act 1862 as the Working Men's College Corporation.

The memorandum of association defines the objects for which the Corporation is established as :—

(1) To take over the property and liabilities of the Company, which was registered 18 April 1857 under the name of the Working Men's College.

(2) To place a liberal education within the reach of the working classes by carrying on the Institution known as the Working Men's College, now situate in Great Ormond Street, in the County of Middlesex, . . . under such conditions as to fees, if any, and hours as shall enable artisans to attend the classes. . . . The Articles of Association provide that the Members of the Corporation shall not exceed fifteen, and that all Members to supply vacancies shall be elected by the Corporation in General Meeting. The Members are elected for life.

The articles also recite that the composition of the Council is regulated by the resolutions passed by it on April 2, 1873, and further provides that the government of the College, including the expenditure of its income for the time being, shall be vested in the Council of the College, subject to the power of the Corporation in general meeting to make regulations from time to time for any of the following purposes :—

(1) Limiting the fees (if any) to be paid by students, so as to keep the classes within the reach of artisans.

(2) Limiting the hours of teaching for the same purpose.

(3) Setting apart any portion of the income of the College for the time being for the creation or maintenance of a Domus Fund, of which the income may be spent by the Council of the College on the repair of the College buildings and property.

The "Working Men's College Corporation," thus constituted as a permanent body of trustees, has no part in the government or administration of the College, or conduct of its classes, which are left entirely to the Council; but it is invested with the guardianship of the "Objects" of the College, and the trusteeship of the property and capital. The first members of the Corporation were T. Hughes, Chairman; R. B. Litchfield, Secretary; Rev. J. S. Brewer, Rev. J. Ll. Davies, Dr. F. J. Furnivall, V. Lushington, J. Martineau, C. E. Maurice (son of the founder), H. E. Rawlins, G. Tansley, and J. Westlake.

To complete the number and to fill vacancies occurring through death or resignation the following additions have been made. In 1883 W. T. Sutton, C. Crawley, C. A. Whitmore, M.P., J. A. Forster, Sir J. R. Seeley were elected; in 1886, C. P. Lucas; in 1889, R. J. Mure; in 1893, L. Jacob; in 1897, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Sir Leslie Stephen, Lowes Dickinson, William Thrower; in 1899, Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury); in 1900, Prof. A. V. Dicey; in 1902, A. B. Shaw, H. R. Levinsohn; in 1903, Robert H. Marks; in 1904, Sir Fred. Pollock, Bart.

In 1874 Mr. Litchfield also accomplished the re-organisation of the Council in accordance with the Council's Resolution VII. of July 1, 1873, which had been made one of the Articles of Association of the Corporation. The Resolution was as follows:—

That it is desirable that the Council should in future be composed as follows:—

(1) Teachers of the College classes, being graduates of some University, or holding a position which in the judgment of the Council gives an equivalent qualification. These Teachers, if unpaid, to become members of the Council so soon as they begin to teach, if paid, when elected by the

Council, and to remain members for one year after they have ceased teaching.

(2) Twelve Students, to be elected by the Council from amongst the Student Teachers of the College, the Associates, or the certificated or other Students. These Students to be elected for three years and to retire by rotation, four each year.

(3) The present Council after revision; but when the members of the Council who are neither Teachers according to clause 1, as above, nor students according to clause 2 shall be less than twelve in number, the Council shall elect whom it pleases to make up that number. The object of this is to obtain the help of past Teachers, past or present Students, or others whose assistance may seem desirable. A third of these members to retire by rotation annually.

Whilst this difficult and absorbing work of re-constitution had been going on, Mr. Litchfield, as Vice-Principal, had, under the Council's Resolution of February 13, 1873, been conducting the administration of the College and the classes. He had appointed as Secretary J. Rigby Smith, Fellow of the College, and as Assistant-Secretary R. Hicks, a certificated student who had done much good work in the teaching of the preparatory classes, and especially in the Library and Museum. His Executive Com-

mittee were H. D. Bevan, James A. Forster, Frank Murray, and George Tansley. The finances of the College he put into the hands of J. A. Forster, requesting him to reduce to order the accounts, which were in utter confusion, and to report as to the best means of meeting the College liabilities, and of placing its finances on a sound basis. The condition of the classes also required much to be done to restore their efficiency. His first care was to improve the teaching staff, and to this end he exerted all his influence among his friends to induce young men coming up from Oxford and Cambridge to take classes. In this endeavour he was very successful, and in the term programme for October 1873 we find for the first time the names of J. Bickersteth and C. Crawley, who undertook the Latin and Greek classes respectively. Both these men entered earnestly into the spirit and traditions of the College, and helped most effectively to carry on its work as Maurice would have had it done. Charles Crawley especially identified himself with the College, and gave much time and attention to the work of the Executive Committee, of which he soon became the leading spirit. His genial

and kindly nature greatly endeared him to the students, and his sound judgment and marked capacity in the conduct of the affairs of the College, together with his tact in overcoming difficulties and smoothing away friction, won the confidence of all, making every one his friend, and thus materially forwarding the development of the College on the lines of its new organisation. In 1883 he was elected Vice-Principal, and for the following four years directed the work and administration of the College with marked success. He continued to take an active part on the Executive Committee till his sad and untimely death in August 1899, when he was drowned in a boating accident on the Wye, vainly endeavouring to save his wife and sister. He was most sincerely mourned throughout the College, and a memorial brass was placed in the Common Room to perpetuate the memory of one who truly loved and worked for the College, and was repaid by the truest affection and esteem.

On the October 1873 programme also occur the names of S. D. Darbishire, M.A., as taking a class on Physiology, B. T. Lowne, F.R.S.A., as teaching Botany, and J. L. Lobley, F.G.S.,

Geology. The following year, 1874, brought to the College the services of C. R. MacClymont, M.A., who undertook a class on Metaphysics. His teaching was greatly appreciated by the students, among whom he became very popular. Another most valuable addition to the teaching staff was T. Dunman, who taught in the Physical Science Division, and soon proved himself to be a most patient, painstaking, and capable teacher. Under his efficient management the Science classes became exceedingly popular, attracting large numbers of students. His untimely death in 1882 was deeply regretted by all, and was a great loss to the College. In 1875 C. A. Whitmore, B.A. (now M.P. for Chelsea) undertook a History Class, and threw himself with vigour into the life of the college. He continued teaching for five or six years, and succeeded in attracting a fair attendance of earnest students to his classes. In the following few years many new teachers came to the college, among whom may be noted H. Stacey Marks, A.R.A., W. C. Lefroy, M.A., R. J. Mure, M.A. (Vice-Principal, 1888-96), M. Cababé, B.A., J. M. Dodds, B.A., Spencer L. Holland, B.A., Lionel Jacob, B.A. (now, 1904, Vice-Principal), H. R. Levinsohn, B.A., Hon.

Alfred Lyttelton, M.A. (now Colonial Secretary), C. P. Lucas, B.A. (Vice-Principal, 1897-1903), A. B. Shaw, B.A., P. L. G. Webb, B.A., Sidney Webb, LL.B. Lond.

To complete the account of this period in the life of the College, reference must be made to its financial position, always its greatest weakness. As already mentioned, a searching inquiry had been instituted early in 1873, which had disclosed a very serious condition of affairs, and showed that, in the words of the Report, unless means were found to increase its income, it would become a question at no very distant date whether the College would be able to keep its doors open. It is true that the two houses in Great Ormond Street were freehold property, but they had been mortgaged, and money had also been borrowed by means of debentures to complete the payment for the building of the new class-rooms on the ground in the rear of the College. There was a recurring annual deficit on the income and expenditure account, although the expenditure had been cut down to the lowest possible amount, and below what was necessary for efficiently carrying on the College work. The number of students had seriously diminished,

and the income from fees in a similar proportion. The College buildings were falling into a bad condition, and required a considerable sum, which was not forthcoming, for repairs. Mr. Litchfield, while he regarded the report as unnecessarily alarmist, was fully convinced of the vital necessity of clearing off the indebtedness, and thus rendering the amount absorbed in the payment of interest available for maintenance. The principal liabilities amounted to £2175. These were transferred to the Trustees on their assuming charge of the College capital account and property. Most earnest endeavours were made to reduce the debt. Mr. Litchfield's appeal to the friends of the College, old and new, for help at this critical time met with a most generous response, and in the two years 1874-75 the donations and subscriptions amounted to over £500, which was applied towards reduction of the debt. In 1874 the Trustees of the Maurice Memorial Fund transferred to the College the sum which remained in their hands, after placing in Westminster Abbey a bust of Maurice, amounting to £1400, the condition of the transfer being that the money should be invested as a Domus or Fabric Fund, and the income derived from it

be used towards defraying the expense of repairs to the College buildings. This condition the College Trustees (Corporation) carried into effect by applying the capital sum to paying off part of the mortgage debt on the property and arranging that £50 per annum should be permanently reserved from the rent received for No. 44 Great Ormond Street for the service of the fund thus established, and called the Maurice Memorial Fabric Fund.

On the sale of the Great Ormond Street property in the present year (1904) the £1400 has been returned to the fund, which, with accumulations, now stands at £1700. The Maurice Memorial Fabric Fund affords a means by which friends of the College wishing to perpetuate the name and work of Maurice may provide that donations or bequests shall be used solely for the purpose of securing its maintenance. Should this Memorial Fund grow to such an amount as to guarantee the repair of the College buildings and their maintenance in an efficient condition, there will be little doubt as to the safety of the future of the College, and its permanence as one of the educational institutions of the country; for the experience of half a

century has proved that it may count for the greater part of its educational work on obtaining from among Oxford and Cambridge men volunteer teachers sufficiently interested in the objects of the College to devote their spare evenings to regular class teaching. These, augmented by past students, who are always coming forward with self-denying earnestness to help on the work of the College they love, will form an efficient staff, and ensure that the fraternal and corporate spirit which knit together the first generation of teachers and students shall be maintained.

By the year 1878 the indebtedness of the College had been considerably reduced by means of various donations, and notably by a generous gift from Mr. Westlake of his debentures, amounting to £250. In 1884 a legacy of £1000 left by Mr. J. A. Bradshaw enabled the Corporation to pay off the remaining liabilities. And, thanks to Mr. Litchfield's foresight and his ten years' careful and prudent administration of its funds, the College was at length free from debt.

Although much activity was shown in the College during the years 1873-74, and much good educational work was done in the classes,

the number of the students, which had seriously diminished during the two previous years, increased but very slowly, and remained far behind the record of past years. This was a great disappointment to the Council, several of whom considered that the failure to attract students was due to the fact that the classes were not made sufficiently popular, that the College was not offering the teaching required, while others thought that it was due to lack of advertisement. Mr. Litchfield did not share either of these views, and in February 1875 addressed a letter to the Principal proposing to abolish fees.

The proposal contained in this letter greatly alarmed the members of the Executive Committee, who from their close acquaintance with the students did not consider that the fees were any serious hindrance to the intending students, and regarded the scheme as fraught with grave dangers.

Eventually the Council came to the conclusion that it could not recommend the carrying out of the proposed scheme, which was consequently abandoned.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Litchfield resigned his office of Vice-Principal, but accepted the post of

Bursar of the College, and in that capacity and as Treasurer of the Corporation he continued to take charge of the finances till 1901, when failing health and the consequent necessity of wintering abroad caused him to resign both offices.

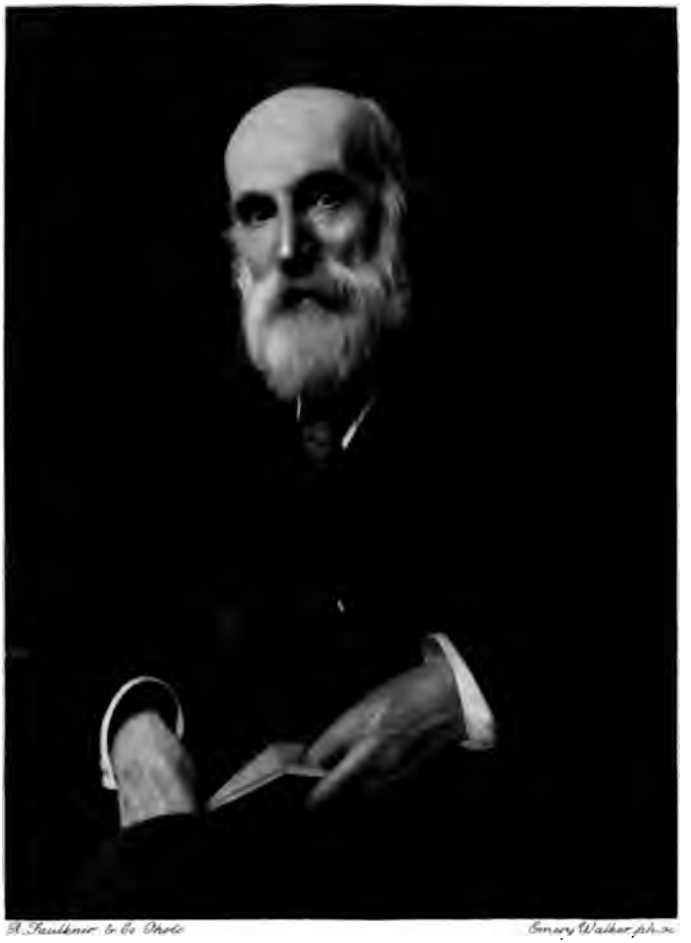
The College owes much to him for what he achieved in the three years during which he was Vice-Principal. He took office at a time of great difficulty and depression, when the affairs of the College were in alarming disorder; he restored confidence, he succeeded in re-organising the governing body on a permanent legal basis, giving the College a fixed constitution that safeguards its property for the objects for which it was founded and ensures the continuity of its work; he restored the efficiency of the classes, and placed the finances on a sound basis. In his work he had the zealous assistance of those whom he associated with him, foremost among whom was George Tansley, whose services will be recorded in another article.

After the retirement of Mr. Litchfield, the Vice-Principalship remained vacant till 1883, when Charles Crawley was elected; in the interval Mr. Hughes remained Principal, and the

work of governing the College was carried on by an Executive Committee elected annually by the Council, and composed for the most part of men who had been in a manner trained to the work by Litchfield himself. The Committee at first consisted of J. Bickersteth, C. Crawley, J. A. Forster, R. B. Litchfield, C. E. Maurice, F. Murray, and G. Tansley; later on Thomas M. Collett, T. Dunman, W. C. Lefroy, R. Sutton, and C. A. Whitmore were added, of whom T. M. Collett made himself especially prominent for a time, putting much vigour and initiative into the work, more particularly in regard to the Saturday night Free Lectures, which became a great feature on the College programme. Good service was also rendered to the College at this time by H. R. Jennings, an old student who had been appointed Secretary on the retirement of J. Rigby Smith. He had taught in the School and Preparatory Division for several years, and was well known to and closely in touch with the students, whose wants he thoroughly understood. All worked with heart and energy, ever maintaining the traditions of the College, and keeping constantly in view the original purpose of the founders. The studies were systematised

and many new classes were started, the College was made more widely known, and the number of students increased, till in 1879 there were entered for the October term 520 members, of whom 220 were new-comers. The strenuous endeavour recorded in these pages had not been wasted; and the ability, earnest thought, and unselfish work so freely given to Maurice's College had the reward for which the givers laboured.

J. A. FORSTER.



H. Faulkner & Co. Photo *Emery Walker, ph. sc.*

G. Tansley.

GEORGE TANSLEY[1]

It has always been claimed for the Working Men's College that there is a stronger spirit of fellowship among its members than is known in other institutions of a similar kind. Old students look back and come back to the College with the same affection which graduates of Oxford or Cambridge feel towards the College in which they spent their time at the University. The success or failure of all institutions—though not in the same degree—must depend mainly on the efforts of individual men. This has been pre-eminently the case with the Working Men's College. The tone of the place was given to it by its original founder, and the influence of Maurice continued after his death in a very wonderful manner.

[1] I am indebted to Mrs. Tansley for supplying me with many particulars of her late husband's life, and the account of his educational work is largely derived from information given to me by his old pupil and great friend, Mr. Leonard Pocock.

As far as I have been able to judge—for I never saw or heard him—this influence was mainly twofold. In the first place, Maurice in his lifetime impressed other men as being better, truer, and purer than any one else whom they ever knew. The result was that those who came into contact with him and were taught by him grew up in his likeness, and in their turn infected others. In the second place, his gospel was a preaching of fellowship, and the college was in his eyes a corporate community, in which teachers and students were bound together. The natural and the actual outcome of this principle was that many of the students became in turn teachers, and the student teacher element has always been one of the main ingredients of the College.

I am asked to give some account of the life and work of the most prominent by far of these student teachers, who, at the same time, more than all, inherited and in turn imparted to others the spirit and the influence of the Founder.

George Tansley was born on June 12, 1836; he died on March 3, 1902, in his sixty-sixth year. He joined the College in 1855, the year

after its foundation; and his connection with it, growing ever stronger and closer till the day of his death, thus lasted continuously for forty-seven years. The place of his birth was 11 Dorset Street, Baker Street, where his father lived and carried on the business of a ball or rout furnisher, as it was then called. His mother, a Norfolk woman, died when he was about two years old, leaving two boys, of whom George was the younger. Thus he never knew a mother's care; and, so far as he was influenced by a parent, the influence came from the father alone. Samuel Tansley, the father, did not marry until he was over forty years of age. He was, therefore, well advanced in life when his younger son's boyhood was only beginning. He lived, however, to be seventy-eight; and when he died in the year 1869 George was a man of thirty-three, married, and with a home of his own. The father was a capable, hard-working man, devoted to his trade, and the business, which he had inherited, he left in a far better state than when it came into his hands. Of careful and simple habits, he brought up his children on the same lines. He worked all the week, and on Sundays used to take his boys long walks into the country. It

was perhaps in consequence of this early training that George Tansley was, in after years, very fond of walking, and a fine walker. Especially he liked—until he had a serious illness some few years before his death—to take an hour's walk late in the evening, before going to bed.

The two boys were sent to a small private day-school somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dorset Street, where the teaching seems to have been up to the average of ordinary elementary schools; but George was little more than eleven when his schooldays came to an end, and he was taken into his father's shop. His brother, who had been his constant companion, had by this time died at the age of thirteen; and he was left alone with his father, who, kindly as he was, does not seem to have been capable of fully appreciating the unusual capacity for learning and the enthusiastic love of knowledge which his son possessed, though he taught him a little algebra in the winter evenings, and gave him, to his great delight, a complete set of the Waverley Novels. These books the boy read at every available moment at home and in the street, with the result that he loved Scott all the days of his life.

For some seven or eight years George Tansley worked hard at his father's business, helping to enlarge it year by year, and picking up what knowledge he could in the meantime, until in 1855, when he was nineteen years old, attracted, it would seem, by a poster on a hoarding, or bill in a shop window, he joined the Working Men's College, which had been opened in the previous year, at 31 Red Lion Square, the premises in Great Ormond Street not being occupied till 1857. He must have arrived with some stock of knowledge in addition to his natural ability and power of work, for in three years' time he had gone as high on the ladder of education as it is possible to go at the College. In November, 1858, he and his friend John Roebuck became Associates of the College by qualifying in the following subjects—Bible history, English history, English grammar, and mechanics, including statics and dynamics, in addition to having in a former year already gained certificates of competency in arithmetic, algebra, and Euclid. Having, moreover, then been teachers for eight consecutive terms, they were under the rules duly elected Fellows of the College and Members of the Council of Teachers. A third student, William Rossiter,

had been elected a Fellow in 1856, and of these three Dr. Furnivall wrote in 1860 that they were "fit to stand by the side of the best and purest."

Mr. Litchfield, Tansley's lifelong friend, was one of his first teachers, if not actually the first. He taught him mathematics, and this was the subject which Tansley subsequently made especially his own as a teacher at the College, for Tansley, with his great thoroughness of mind, was a born mathematician. Among his other teachers—he attended many classes—Mr. Westlake and Dr. Furnivall are still with us; while of those who have gone may be mentioned Maurice himself, Professor Brewer, at one time Vice-Principal of the College, and John Ruskin. Tansley had much aptitude for drawing. When he was in Ruskin's class he was set, on one occasion, with the rest of the class to draw carefully the cast of a ball—no easy matter in the light and shade of gas-burners; and he succeeded so well that Ruskin carried off the drawing to Oxford, promising to return it, which he never did.

It may be asked, and probably has been asked, did the Working Men's College meet a real want?

The record of this one man alone would supply a sufficient answer. At the most impressionable time of life, eager for knowledge for its own sake, but having never yet enjoyed the advantage of well-directed study under competent guidance, he came under the personal influence and profited by the personal teaching of men of the type of Maurice and Ruskin. With such teaching and such a student, the seed fell upon good ground and brought forth an hundredfold. One result—an almost inevitable result—was that the student in a very short time became in his turn a teacher. About a year after he joined the College, while still being taught himself, Tansley began teaching others, as a practice teacher supplementing the regular work of the classes and helping on the backward students. Thus he carried out from the first the ideal which the founders of the College set before them, that teachers and students should as far as possible co-operate with each other as being members of one body. Outside the College, too, a little later, he was making himself felt, for in the year 1861 we find him pleading for an Institute which the Rev. Septimus Hansard had opened for the benefit of working men in St. George's-in-the-East, where

he had then been for some time giving personal help.

Among his earliest college friends were John Roebuck, already mentioned, who has long been living in the United States; Ebenezer Cooke; William Sutton, who was for many years a worker at the College, and who married Mrs. Tansley's sister; Leonard Sutton, a cousin of the last named; and William Thrower, well-known to the present Executive Committee and Council as a most staunch and level-headed colleague, whose death followed closely upon that of his old friend. These and a few others used to foregather at Tansley's rooms in Dorset Street to read Shakespeare together on Sunday afternoons, when they were not taking country walks; and in May 1861 the readings were commemorated by the gift of a three-volume Shakespeare, inscribed "To George Tansley, from some college friends, as a memento of their pleasant Shakespeare readings with him." Other friends were a student named Lawrence, whose sister became his wife; J. A. Forster, still active in the management of the College; and Robert Marks, who has succeeded Tansley as President of the Old Students' Club.

In 1859, when Tansley was in his fourth College year, the volunteer movement came into being. At the College it found an enthusiastic leader in Tom Hughes, whose personality attracted recruits. Before the year ended, drilling went on in the College garden three days in the week, Serjeant (now Major) Read, a soldier student, who had served in the Crimea, taking the duties of instructor. The College volunteers formed the first three companies of the 19th Middlesex regiment. Tansley supported this new movement most warmly, but always in connection with the College. Joining as a private, he was soon made ensign and then lieutenant.

When he married in 1863 he resigned his commission, remaining in the corps as a private; but when, in 1869, a vacancy occurred in the captaincy of No. 2 Company, he was unanimously invited to fill it, and he held the post until he found it necessary, from other calls on his time, to give up volunteering altogether. He was an excellent shot, being a "marksman" in his regiment, and when in 1860 he went to Hythe for musketry instruction he was level in shooting with the Queen's Prizeman of the following year. It will be remembered that, while he was giving

endless time and trouble to the task of making himself and his fellows competent soldiers, drilling squads of recruits in Regent's Park before breakfast, or spending his scanty holidays at Hythe or Aldershot, he was none the less active in improving and enlarging the family business, and in teaching and attending committees and councils at the Working Men's College. It will be noted, too, how attractive the volunteer movement proved to the College as a whole, and especially to this particular son of the College. The reason is not far to seek. The aim of the College was and is to make good citizens, to give such a training and education as is necessary for this object. The volunteer movement was essentially a citizen movement, and therefore precisely the form of activity which would commend itself to members of the College, especially when they had among them such a manly, wholesome, and brave specimen of a citizen as was Tom Hughes. Tansley was a citizen among citizens; he saw in volunteering a combined effort which appealed to him not only as an Englishman, but also especially as a member of the College. His walking powers, his keen sight, his capacity for taking infinite

pains, his extreme accuracy, all united to make marching, shooting, and drilling congenial to him; while the mixture of discipline and co-operation, the interchange of commanding and obeying, to be found in the early days of the volunteer movement, appealed in a special degree to his sense of order and brotherhood.

On being gazetted Captain of No. 2 Company in February 1869, he wrote an address to the members of the Company, which ended with the following words:—"I think that the motive which should urge us first of all to be volunteers should also be the guiding principle throughout all our volunteer work. And that motive (prompted by nothing lower than the desire to make ourselves useful English citizens) should, I take it, be the wish to use some part of our leisure in doing some voluntary citizen's work, work undertaken not in the expectation of reward of any sort, but simply in the hope that it may be of some service, however small, to the country."

Tansley married Miss Lawrence in September 1863. Her family at the time lived in Islington, and not only was one of her brothers a member of the College, but her two sisters married College men—William Sutton and James Rigby

Smith. Tansley took his wife to live first in the Euston Road and then, in 1866, in Regent Square, Bloomsbury, both places being within easy reach of his business on the one hand and of the College on the other. His house in Regent Square became, out of working hours, a welcome meeting-place for past and present students. In the spring of 1879 he moved to 167 Adelaide Road, where he and his family lived till his death. A daughter and a son had been born and, like his widow, are still with us, the son, Arthur Tansley, to the great pleasure of his own and his father's friends, carrying out by his high reputation as a botanist the promise of a distinguished school and University career.

Before Samuel Tansley died in 1869, the family business had grown to considerable dimensions, George being at least as careful and diligent as his father, with added energy of both youth and character. After his father's death, in 1870, he moved into larger premises in Wigmore Street, and in 1871 he opened a branch in Gloucester Road, South Kensington. In the London season, and about Christmas time, the work was such as to absorb the whole energies of any man, however capable and industrious;

and as Tansley, in his intense thoroughness, insisted on looking into every detail himself, he was at these times engrossed in business day and night alike, finding his reward in the confidence and personal esteem which he inspired in all who dealt with or served under him, and in the knowledge that the time was year by year drawing nearer when he would be able to retire with comfort, and devote his life to the College, which in his busiest times he still served unceasingly.

The College much needed all the help and guidance that the best of its children could give. Mr. Litchfield, who was then made Vice-Principal, and who more than any one man bore the burden of responsibility, was advised by a special Executive Committee, of whom Tansley was one; and he has left on record that from this time onward "the one man whose work and personality was the chief support of the College was George Tansley."

There was another College with which for a while both Tansley and his wife were connected. This was the Working Women's College in Queen Square, which was founded in the autumn of 1864 on the model of the Working Men's College in the adjoining Great Ormond Street,

Mrs. Frank Malleson being the moving spirit in founding the later College, and its first Secretary. For ten years Mr. and Mrs. Tansley served on the Council of this College, and Tansley took a class first in geometry and subsequently in algebra, but at the end of that time there was a division among the managers, connected with the question of admitting men as well as women to be students and members; and, retiring with some others from the governing body, Tansley and his wife helped Miss Martin to found in 1874 the present College for Working Women in Fitzroy Street, of which he was for a while the Treasurer. It may be noted that, at a later date, and under its new name of the Men's and Women's College, the Queen's Square College, now no longer in existence, benefited conjointly with the Working Men's College from an annual grant made by the Trustees of the City Parochial Charities, and for some years certain classes in either College were open to members of the other.

No man ever worked harder than George Tansley, but, probably for that very reason, when he took a holiday no man ever enjoyed it more. Whether at work or at play he lived his

life to the full—every minute of his waking time. In his business years the month of September—when London is emptiest of those who give parties—was naturally his holiday time, and he would spend it, as other men, with his wife and children in the country, walking, sketching, and reading. In his later years he took a cottage high up at West Malvern, and never tired of the Malvern Hills or failed to profit by their air. Here, as at home, he welcomed his friends with open-handed hospitality. He had not in his early life had much time and opportunity for seeing the world, but nothing pleased him better, after he had retired from business, than to put a novel or two in his bag for reading on the way and go off for a short trip, climbing mountains in the Lakes, or studying English cathedrals, with some intimate friend for his companion—of late years not infrequently the present Vice-Principal or myself. He so perpetually considered his companion's wishes that it was not easy to ascertain his own. My experience was that I tired of sight-seeing far sooner than he did, and I still cannot make up my mind whether it gave him greater pleasure to see new places or to revisit what he had seen

and liked before. His power of enjoyment was greatly helped by his sense of humour. He much loved a joke, and Dickens was one of his favourite authors.

In 1884 Tansley retired from business. He retired from it absolutely and entirely, not being content to retain an interest in it as a half-timer or a sleeping partner. It had been growing year by year. It was growing still. He had already secured more than a competence, and could hardly have avoided making a considerable fortune. But the aim of his life was to work for others, not for himself. Consequently, when he had assured the comfort and future prospects of his family, and had enough money for his own small wants and much larger benefactions, he deliberately chose to devote the remainder of his life to voluntary educational work, and before all to the work of the Working Men's College. As Mr. Litchfield wrote on hearing of his death, "The wellbeing of the College was the chief aim, one may say the passion, of his life," and so from this date onwards the story of his life is very much the story of the College. I shall refer presently rather more in detail to his work for the College as a teacher, as an organiser, and

as a leader of college life. It will be noted that now the College had, what it had never had before, a man of means, a man who knew its history and its requirements as intimately as they could be known, a man of great business capacity, energy, and enthusiasm, who was able to give and was giving his whole life and power of work primarily to this one object. It was more than Maurice himself could give, owing to the pressure of other interests upon his time and attention, and it was given by a man who had been bred within the College itself, and had not come to it from the old Universities.

Only those who knew very closely the College in Tansley's later years can testify to the fulness with which he gave his whole self to the College. At his own house he would be doing College work the whole day long, sorting and looking over papers, or giving private instruction to College students. On Saturday afternoon again he would, either at home or at the College, be available for some extra teaching of men whose work for daily bread gave them little leisure to learn. He took an almost too severe view of the duties and responsibilities of a voluntary teacher, and seemed to think that,

when a man is unpaid, he must be doubly careful not to take advantage of his position and shirk his work. He knew what voluntary teachers had done for the College, and he wished to preserve this most valuable element in the system; but he thought, and thought rightly, that only the very best amateur teachers can in the long-run hold their own side by side with professionals. Therefore by precept and example he set himself to show how excellent such unpaid work may be.

Teaching, organising the classes and the connection of the classes, serving on all the important committees, special and ordinary, taking the lead in social gatherings, he had a very full life in connection with the College; and it was as the representative of the College that he took an active part in the University Extension movement in London. I can only think of one piece of work wholly unconnected with the College to which he gave much time and attention. In the year 1886 the Government established the Emigrants' Information Office at 31 Broadway, Westminster, for the guidance of intending emigrants, to prevent them from being misled by inaccurate reports, and more especi-

ally to give them information as to the British Colonies. Though the expenses of this little office were and are covered by a grant in aid, it has been from the first managed by a voluntary Committee under the general supervision of the Colonial Office. A good deal of the work in connection with the establishment of this office devolved upon me, and I suggested that Tansley should be asked to become a member of the Committee. He was duly nominated by the Secretary of State, and for eight years took an active part in the administration of the office, until 1894, when he felt unable to continue this work, and retired with a cordial letter of thanks from Lord Ripon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who in past years had been closely connected with the Working Men's College. Tansley's thoroughness and power of work were just as conspicuous in his relations to this little semi-government office as they were in his dealings with the College. I well remember the endless pains that he took in editing a handbook relating to one of the Colonies, and its excellence when the work was done; and I remember, too, how he was mainly instrumental in establishing small branches of the office in

various provincial centres, visiting them personally from time to time. He was fully as conscientious in giving unpaid work to the Government as in giving it to a private institution. While most people regard the Government as a source of gain, or as a creditor to be eluded and possibly cheated, he regarded it as an agency for the common good, and work for it he held to be the duty and privilege of a good citizen.

The year 1888 was the year of Tansley's silver wedding, and it suggested to his friends some recognition of his services to the College. It was not, however, till the beginning of the following year that the matter could be arranged. At a crowded gathering held at the College on the evening of January 12, 1889, he was presented with a water-colour picture of Thames scenery painted by Albert Goodwin, and with twenty volumes of the works of his old teacher, John Ruskin. The number of contributors, over 200 in all, and the speeches made on the evening in question, testified to the affection which had gathered round him. The picture was inscribed "A silver wedding gift from colleagues, pupils, and friends," and on the fly-leaf of each

of the books was printed: "This book is part of a gift offered by colleagues, pupils, and other friends to George Tansley, M.A., Fellow and Member of Council of the Working Men's College, to commemorate the 3rd of September 1888, being his silver wedding day, and to express the affection and gratitude with which they remember his self-denying and devoted services to the College during 33 years and more." The words were Mr. Litchfield's, and he seems to have put the letters M.A. after Tansley's name a little in advance of the actual degree, for, though we knew at the time that the Archbishop of Canterbury had announced his intention of conferring upon Tansley the Lambeth degree of Master of Arts, the actual ceremony did not take place till May 11, 1889. On that day we went to Lambeth Palace to see our dear old friend welcomed and honoured by Archbishop Benson, who, like his successor Archbishop Temple, reverenced the memory of Maurice, and was a good friend to the Working Men's College. There was nothing that could have pleased Tansley more than being the recipient of a degree. He had always wished to matriculate at London University and take a

degree, and at an earlier date he would have done so, but that he thought it would be necessary to neglect his daily work in order to learn the required amount of Latin and Greek. He had a reverence for learning, for seats of learning, and for the degrees which ought to but do not always indicate that the possessors have learning. For many years on one Saturday in the summer there used to be a College excursion, the favourite places to visit on these excursions being in later years Oxford and Cambridge. Tansley was always keenly interested in these excursions. He loved going to the two old Universities, and it was a great delight to him when his son went into residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, giving him a legitimate excuse for frequent visits to Cambridge. These visits were in turn fruitful of good to the Working Men's College. The undergraduates who came into contact with him were attracted by him in the same manner as his own pupils at the Working Men's College, and to his personal influence may be traced in no small measure the welcome which has been given at Cambridge of late years to all who are connected with the Working Men's College, and the number of young

Cambridge men who have joined our band of teachers.

As Tansley's life went on, he became rather more than less absorbed in the College and in the friends whom the College had brought to him. In November 1894 there came a serious check to his work through illness, an internal complaint which had troubled him as a boy recurring with momentary danger to his life. The illness passed away but weakened him, at any rate for the time, and in the December of that year, for the only time as long as he lived, he did not take the Chair at the annual supper of the Old Students' Club. A little later he had a bad attack of influenza, which shut him up for some weeks; and as he grew older those who knew and loved him realised that any serious illness would go hard with him as a man who in the service of others habitually overtaxed his strength. Falling numbers in the classes and changes in the Secretariat fretted him and added to his toil, the problem of new buildings for the College, and possibly a new site, which was then warmly under discussion, made him anxious—for all such matters he felt as though they were personal to himself; and when in 1901 the whole

educational work of the College was placed under his single control as Dean of Studies, he took up a task to which his physical strength was hardly equal.

Tansley would never be Vice-Principal of the College. He thought that he was unsuited to the post because he was not an Oxford or Cambridge man. He thought, too, that he could serve the College better in other ways, and the welfare of the College was to him always the first and main concern. Some of us wished to have him for our Principal in succession to Lord Avebury. We felt that he stood so absolutely alone in his service to the College that he ought to be placed before the public as the head of the institution, but he always himself urged the selection of a man whose name would be better known to the world, and the choice of Professor Dicey has certainly justified that view.

It was, however, the feeling that Tansley ought to have some definite and recognised position assigned to him, and not merely the desire to utilise his services to the utmost, that led to his appointment as Dean of Studies. Immediately afterwards he was asked by his College friends to sit for his portrait to Mr.

Lowes Dickinson, as a pendant to the portraits of Maurice and Hughes, which the College owes to the same skilled hand. These sittings were one of the last keen pleasures of his life, but he did not finish them, and he did not hold his new post for long. He took up the duties in July 1901, and at the beginning of the following March we had lost him. The early spring, that fatal time for the old or the weakened, found out his over-tried frame. He caught a chill, and aggravated it by one of his periodical visits to Cambridge. Pneumonia and pleurisy came on, and very soon caused his death. He was buried on Saturday, March 8. Some three hundred of his colleagues and pupils thronged the old Parish Church at Hampstead and in long line followed to the grave at the West Hampstead Cemetery. Students carried the coffin, and among the pall-bearers were founders of the College mourning for the life which had been the best and purest evidence of their work. I stood near the open grave while the last solemn words of the Burial Service were being spoken, and by me an old pupil of the dead man, a stranger to myself, broke into sobbing like a little child.

Tansley's work for the College falls, as already suggested, under three heads—work as a teacher, as an organiser, and as a leader of college life. Teaching was the work which he loved best, and for which he had the greatest natural aptitude. To this should be added that the extreme exactness and accuracy of his mind attracted him especially to mathematics as being an exact science. He was at his best as a mathematical teacher. What weighed with him further, and in his eyes made teaching, which was a pleasure, also a sacred duty, was the twofold consideration ever present to his mind—first, that teaching and learning is the one main object of the College; and secondly, that he himself had gained his education at the College. At first sight it may seem a somewhat meaningless truism to lay down that teaching and learning constitutes the main object of a college, and that it is a merit in a man not to overlook this obvious fact. But those who have had some intimate knowledge of institutions for the benefit of working men will appreciate what is meant. Men who work all day long to earn their own and their families' bread cannot without an effort do additional work in the evening. To nine-

tenths of them this extra labour is not congenial. It is not in human nature that it should be. There is therefore, in the case of institutions intended at once to raise the level and to soften the lot of the poor and the hard-worked, a tendency on the part of those who know the working classes best and have most sympathy with them to provide rest and comfort, wholesome amusements, and opportunities for quiet talk and reading, rather than directly to teach and to train. Further, when teaching and learning is taken in hand, there is a natural desire to make the task as easy and pleasant as possible; to substitute single lectures, or short courses of lectures, for ordinary school classes; and to confine the subjects of the lectures to what is likely to attract a working-class audience at a given time and place. To my mind there is great danger in all this, and I much mistrust the lecture as opposed to the class. The best friends of working men are those who warn them that knowledge is too good and precious a thing to be picked up by the wayside, or to be swallowed as powder in the midst of jam; that it is only to be won by constant and sustained effort, by going to school night after night, and

slowly but surely widening the understanding and adding to the store of facts.

To me the saddest side of the poor man's life, if he is not actually in want, is its monotony; and the best remedy is for a man, when young, by study and reading to have made some hobby for himself; to become, for instance, a botanist, a geologist, a naturalist, an antiquarian—which the poorest may be. Then, when age comes on, with the growing facilities for borrowing books or reading them at libraries, there is a possibility for each one to have some special treasure of his own in the way of knowledge.

To this end little is contributed by the shallow lecture system which aims too often at giving the audience what in their mood for the time being they are likely to applaud, and at best serves only to make an interesting introduction to real study; and it was one of Tansley's greatest merits that while promoting, beyond all others, the social life of the College, beyond all others he insisted that the class work was the main work; that no one should find a place within the College walls who was not a present or a past student, and that however great and ungrudging might be the teacher's help of

those whom he taught, the students must in their turn realise that they should not be mere listeners, but active and persistent workers.

This was his point of view for himself and for the College. As early as 1859, at a College meeting, he stated that he felt it to be a duty of the students to help in teaching others. No man ever imposed a duty on himself more cheerfully, and no man ever carried it out with greater strength of purpose or more devoted energy. The main qualifications for a successful teacher are, I take it, thorough knowledge of the subject, clearness of thought and expression, love of teaching and sympathy with the taught, great patience and capacity for taking trouble. All these qualities Tansley possessed in a high degree, and he had a certain originality as a teacher which made him the master of the text-books and not their slave. So much was this the case that at the end of his life he had it in his mind to slacken his work at the College in order to find time to finish a new text-book on arithmetic which he had already begun, following the lines on which he had taught for many years with conspicuous success. He attached great importance to the way in which a subject is approached

by beginners, and out of the time allotted to a course in any given subject, he devoted a greater proportion to groundwork in elementary principles than any ordinary text-book would allow. He presupposed ignorance of these principles on the part of all beginners. In this way he netted all the members of the class, however backward, and to the most forward of them, whatever they had learnt before, their teacher's method of reasoning was a novelty. In arithmetic he would begin his course by labouring at the real nature of numbers, the nature of unity, the way in which numbers are built up out of units, factors, and multiples, the decimal system of notation, and so forth. He would insist on the essential importance of clearly understanding the foundation of our system of arithmetic, and never rested until every individual in his class understood it for his whole lifetime. Having thus interested his pupils at the outset, and aroused their curiosity, by showing them the meaning of what had seemed to them before to be too elementary to have a meaning, he would take a class, numbering sometimes at the beginning of the October term as many as eighty students, through a complete course in arith-

metic, the class attending nominally for two hours on one evening in every week during the College term, and the whole course lasting for two years.

The following was his method. Every student at each lesson received a paper on which were set out succinctly the heads of the coming lesson, the main points in it to be studied and remembered. Every student at each lesson received also a paper of class work containing the actual questions which were set to be worked out on that evening in the class. This paper was supplemented by a solution paper giving the answers to the questions and showing the best methods of working out the sums; and, after the class work was done, Tansley would collect the students' answers, correct them, and refer by notes upon them to the solution paper, so that the student, besides having his own work corrected, would have a full statement as to how the sums should be worked. With the help of the blackboard the lessons were literally rubbed in with the utmost earnestness, insistence, and emphasis, the teacher being smothered in chalk and oblivious for the time being of everything except the duty and

the pleasure of making the lesson understood and absorbed in the fullest possible manner by every human being in the room. Far more than the two hours allotted to each lesson were thus spent every week, but this was not all. Every student was given a home-work paper, which was a set of exercises and questions to be worked out and answered at home on the subject matter of the preceding lesson; the paper very often having notes attached to the questions calling attention to particular points which the teacher had already emphasised in the class. This home-work paper again was supplemented by a solution paper giving the answers to the questions; and every student who attempted the home-work paper had his answers corrected by the teacher and sent back to him, together with a copy of the solution paper to show the best method of working out the problems.

Tansley was determined that his pupils, while receiving more help than any pupils probably ever received in a body, should clearly understand that they must in turn work hard and help themselves. Accordingly, he withheld the solution papers, both in the class and out of it, from all who did not attempt to work at the papers

which were set, and to answer the questions. As the pupils were eager to possess the solution papers, and to see how their master solved the problems and worked out the sums, he induced the large majority of them to do a great deal of hard work for themselves. He had a system of marking, too, by which he showed what he thought of the work sent up to him; and he was very strong on the importance of utilising the practice classes, usually taken by old pupils of his own, in which the members of his class could get another evening's teaching in the week without paying any additional fee.

It will be remembered that I am describing the work of a voluntary teacher. No man who taught for a livelihood could possibly have given so much time to a single class. It was only by giving every day in the week and the most part of every day that Tansley could prepare and correct the hundreds of papers which his system involved. Yet he would find time to give individual coaching to backward students, or to unusually forward pupils anxious to try for a University degree; to take, in many terms, an algebra class in addition to his arithmetic; and to superintend—often to prepare lessons

for—a body of teachers in one or other of the main divisions of the College.

That his teaching was appreciated is shown by the numbers who came to be taught. As I have said, he would often have as many as eighty pupils in his class, and at Christmas time from many of them there would come letters and little presents, to mark their gratitude and affection for a teacher who had given them greater care and consideration than they had ever imagined to be possible; for to the love of teaching and the sense of duty which inspired Tansley's work as a teacher was superadded a kind of chivalry which instinctively attracted the older man to the young and the richer man to the poor. The students at the Working Men's College are men who have to work hard for their living and to get as much as possible for their money. When any of them joined Tansley's arithmetic class they found, to their delight, that they received infinitely more than they had bargained for, and teaching far superior in quality to, and much greater in quantity than, that given by the ordinary professional teacher from the ordinary text-book; while the close of the course would probably be marked by a tea or supper,

at which each pupil would find ready counsel and advice as to his further studies. Thus Tansley's class gained a kind of unique reputation, the College in which it was held acquired additional honour, and the system of voluntary teaching was, through the excellence of this particular teacher, more than justified. Nor did the effect of his teaching work end here. He not only taught pupils, but in teaching pupils he trained teachers. A student teacher he was himself, and as his older pupils went on under his tuition to higher mathematics, as in doing so they noted more and more the immense amount of labour, time, and money which he gladly and lovingly gave to themselves and others, it became impossible for them, in their turn, not to give of what they had received, and they also became well-trained teachers of their fellows. To Tansley, far more than any other man, has been due the long line of volunteer student teachers of whom the Working Men's College has good right to be proud.

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Of all work teaching was beyond doubt nearest to Tansley's heart; he must have known that he did it well; and the delight of interesting others, to the extent that he could undoubtedly

interest them by his lessons, must have been very keen. But the College wanted his time and labour in other ways; and gradually, with reluctance, he trained his unselfish mind to undertaking the direction of the classes and teachers in lieu of active personal work as a teacher. It was, however, only at the end of his life that he gave up all teaching, and for many years his work as an organiser went on *pari passu* with his class work. I now propose to say a few words of his service to the College in the matter of organisation.

By precept and example Tansley enforced the doctrine that the College should breed a certain proportion of its teachers; and conversely, that students who had successfully gone through all the stages of the College curriculum ought to pay the debt which they owed to the College by taking some part in its work. But many old students might be willing to teach while still having much to learn, and many might be willing to teach without having so far shown whether or not they would make good teachers. Hence a natural field for the younger student teacher was either the Preparatory Division or the Practice Classes. As early as November 1856 a

proposal was made by Rossiter, Roebuck, and Tansley, speaking as representatives of the students, that Preparatory Classes should be formed at the College. The proposal was carried into effect in the following January; and the Preparatory Classes, subsequently known as the Adult School, and again as the Preparatory Division, are still a part, and no unimportant part, of the educational system of the College. They are at present distinctly an integral part of the system, having been fully incorporated, so to speak, by Tansley. For a long time, under the name of the Adult School, "for teaching the Subjects required for entrance to the College," these classes were more or less separate from the main body of the classes, holding much the same position as the Lower School at one or other of the great public schools of England. The teaching in the Preparatory Division is confined to reading, writing, dictation, elementary English grammar, and elementary arithmetic. At first sight it would seem that these childish lessons ought not to find a place at a College whose avowed object is the higher education of the working classes; or that, if fifty years ago they were temporarily required at such an institution,

they should be no longer necessary, now that thirty years have passed since elementary education was made compulsory in this country, and evening continuation schools are generally found in all large centres of population. No doubt, in theory, a Preparatory Division ought not to be required at the Working Men's College, but as a matter of fact it probably always will be required. There will always be a certain number of men who, having been taught in childhood at the elementary schools, and having subsequently forgotten what they were supposed to have learnt, at the age of twenty, have a keen desire to be better educated, and find themselves without the preliminary equipment. They are naturally reluctant to go to ordinary evening schools for the purpose, but are more at home in the Preparatory Division of the Working Men's College, where they are not overrun with boys quicker and more forward than themselves. The College, too, values this Preparatory Division, because from it the higher classes are fed, and the students, we think, are likely to be most thoroughly taught who begin with us at the lowest rung of the ladder.

Tansley helped to originate this Preparatory

Division; he put it in its proper place in the educational system of the College, and he looked to student teachers in the main to take charge of it. He looked to student teachers also in the matter of the Practice Classes. As long ago as March 1859 it was proposed by Mr. Ludlow that there should be a system of tutors to help the students who were attending the regular College classes. Tansley himself acted as a kind of tutor in algebra. Out of this grew the Practice Classes, which are still, and I hope always will be, a great feature of the College teaching. A man joins, say, the French class. His regular class, for which he pays a fee, may be held on a Tuesday. On the following Friday there will be a practice class in the same work, but under a supplementary teacher; the student pays no additional fee, but he is given a second evening in the week to practise and thoroughly master what he has been taught in the regular class. The practice teachers have always been old students, and no more valuable help has been given by volunteers to the College.

But the Preparatory Division, as its name implies, was and is only preliminary to the work which is the real object of the Working Men's

College, and the Practice Classes, as their name declares, are only supplementary to the main teaching of the College. What was Tansley's view of this main teaching, and how far did he organise it and embody it in a system? The founders of the Working Men's College designed —and fifty years have in no way modified the design—to give to the poorest a liberal education, such an education as would make them good citizens. The aim was not directly to make them by technical education better artisans, or to enable them to earn more money, but to give them knowledge as a good thing in itself, as a possession which would make their lives broader, wiser, and happier. There has been at the College a traditional antipathy to giving prizes, to the extent that they are given at ordinary schools and colleges, on the ground, with which I have no great sympathy myself, that such prizes give a kind of spurious stimulus to learning, that the best citizens will not be made by simply luring them on with the prospect of more pounds, shillings, and pence. Tansley, at any rate in his earlier years, shared this view. In 1859 we find him expressing himself strongly against offering prizes, on the ground that men

might come to look upon them as the end for which they were studying. On this occasion he went on to speak of the privilege which was attached to winning certificates, that privilege being that the preparatory and practice class teachers were chosen from among the certificated students, and he quoted a student friend as saying that the College need hold out no other prizes than the privilege of helping in the teaching and later on taking part in the government of the College.

Immediately on his retirement from business, he set himself to the task of rearranging the classes of the College and reducing them to a system. He had very wide and far-reaching views on the subject. He looked to a future when working men, who had successfully gone through a prescribed course of study at the Working Men's College, would take a degree, giving them in the eyes of their fellows and their employers as much standing and credit as a B.A. of Oxford or Cambridge gives to men in the higher ranks of life. In the meantime his object was to make the classes lead on from one to the other, the requirements of the University of London being kept steadily in sight, so that

the most successful college students might try for a London degree.

In 1883 the class list of the College was contained on one side of a small leaf of paper. There were some half-dozen headings of subjects, Art, Mathematics, Language and Literature, etc., but there was little or no correlation of the classes and subjects. In 1884 and 1885 Tansley went to work. A special Studies Committee was appointed, and their report embodied his views, which came into force in full in the October term of 1885. The Council passed a special vote of thanks to Tansley for this piece of work. The results of his labours were the more complete classification of the studies in divisions; the appointment of Directors to the divisions; the rearrangement of examinations and honours; the granting of certificates, first stage and advanced; the institution of scholarships entitling to tuition free of all fees for one, two, or three years; the provision of information for teachers to guide them in taking their classes; a far fuller and more detailed term programme to tell intending students what teaching could be had at the College in a given term; and lastly, a general Prospectus and Plan of Study from which intend-

ing students might ascertain the various courses of study, the length of each course, and the general scheme of education at the College. What had happened was that a man who knew most intimately the College and the students, having been one of them himself, who was a successful man of business and a great master of detail, had turned the whole of his energy and business capacity upon the difficult problem of elaborating a practical scheme of education to be put into force at the Working Men's College. The classes were arranged in three main divisions —the Preparatory, the Lower, and the Higher. A little later a fourth division was added and entitled the Special Division, including certain subjects, such as Book-keeping and Shorthand, which had been at first ranked in the higher division, but are clearly not part of the main scheme of a liberal education. In October 1885 four Directors were nominated—one for the Preparatory Division; one for the Lower; and two for the Higher division, viz. one for the literary side, another for the mathematical. The number of Directors was from time to time increased, for the Higher Division was subdivided into sections, which are at present six in number. In 1892

there were seven Directors, and in 1898 nine. Tansley himself was at one time—while he was still a teacher—Director of the Preparatory Division and also of one section of the Higher Division. The duties of the Directors were and are to superintend and guide the teachers, to ensure that they work in with each other, that their teaching follows the general lines of the scheme of College education, that the examinations are duly held, and so forth. One main reason for appointing them was to make good any tendency to be irregular and casual on the part of voluntary teachers. The whole Plan of Study will be found set out in full in the College Calendar, and beyond question the system which Tansley introduced has stood the test of time, for in all the main features it is the system on which we are still working.

It was due to this reorganisation of the studies and to the simplifying of the fees—in which also Tansley had a guiding hand—that the numbers of students at the College largely increased. In the October term of 1889 they reached 875, and in the same term of 1894, 867. Then there came an ebb in the tide, and for one reason or another the numbers fell, until, in the

October term of 1900, only 490 students were registered. In consequence of this decline a special inquiry was held, Tansley and our colleague Mr. A. B. Shaw being entrusted with it, and being given the paid assistance of an educational expert from the outside. Following their recommendations in the main, the Council in July 1901 laid down certain instructions, notably that volunteer teaching should be continued in view of the excellent results which it had achieved in the past, and that, as technical education in London was in great measure supplied by new and rich institutions, the Working Men's College should "in furtherance of the objects of its founders, now, more than ever, devote itself particularly to the liberal side of education," without, however, closing such classes in other subjects as had so far been successfully held. In addition to passing these and some other sensible resolutions, the Council determined to place the whole educational work of the College under Tansley's sole control, creating for him a new appointment entitled Dean of Studies. There had been for some years a Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee, which was called the Studies Committee, and

to which all questions affecting the classes and the teaching were referred. Tansley had been the Chairman and the moving spirit. The Committee, as far as its powers were concerned, was now abolished, though it was retained by the Dean of Studies as an Advisory Committee. In effect the Council created an educational Dictatorship. They nominated to it the man who had already all the threads in his hands; and they gave him full discretion. It was a wise step. Improvements were at once introduced; and, though the appointment was only made in July 1901, in the following October term the number of students rose to 584 against 490 in the same term of the preceding year.

His death in the following March was the greatest blow that could have befallen the educational work of the College. That the work has survived and been maintained is due mainly to two causes—first, the excellence of the system which Tansley created and perfected; secondly, the extent to which his example inspired others to take up his work in the same spirit and on the same lines.

As a leader of college life, Tansley stood alone at the Working Men's College. He became in

a sense the father of the college. On the Executive Committee and the Council and on all special committees he was indispensable. No one had the same knowledge, few had the same clear perception of what was the best practical solution of any difficulty that arose. His defects were in a measure the results of the strong points in his character. He was so thorough that he rather lost himself in detail, and he had not the faculty of delegating work to others. Again, he was so much in earnest that small matters loomed large to him, and in Committee or Council he would not infrequently be wanting in sense of proportion, and labour small points unnecessarily. This grew on him in later years, as he became more and more overstrained in working for others. In fact, no man ever wore himself out more thoroughly, and none was ever happier in the process. His sympathy and courtesy won him the affection and confidence of students and teachers alike. In the very early days of the College a new student is chronicled as saying, "Every one nods to me, but Mr. Tansley shook hands with me, and I believed in him at once." His purse was as open as his heart. He was constantly entertaining—it might

be the teachers, of whom he was Director, or the students in his class. It was an open secret that every year the annual supper of the Old Students' Club left him—delightedly—much out of pocket; and every year a feature of the Joint Clubs' Supper, which takes place about New Year's Eve, was the bowl of punch which Tansley contributed to the entertainment. He was president or vice-president of most of the College clubs. I will only refer to one, the Old Students' Club, which, to all who know the College, is now as familiar as the College itself. The club was founded in 1877: Tansley drafted the rules and was the first President. The club was to consist of all students of three years' standing, and all teachers, who liked to pay the subscription of two shillings a year; and at least four meetings a year were to be held. From that day to this the meetings have been regularly held for discussion of various subjects, presided over by Tansley till his death, and since his death by his and our old friend, Robert Marks. But the club has been mainly known in connection with the annual supper which takes place on the nearest convenient Saturday to Christmas, and which has become the supper not so much of the

club as of the whole college. On this occasion, year after year, founders, lecturers, students, teachers, visitors gathered in the Oval Room, where Tansley's untiring supervision and professional knowledge had been at work. Year after year, under Mr. Lowes Dickinson's beautiful portrait of the founder, he took the chair, best loved of all in the room, and after supper bade us all stand up and drink to the memory of the founder of the college, Frederick Denison Maurice. We now stand up a second time and drink also to the memory of George Tansley.

It would be a fair statement, I think, and free from any exaggeration, to say, by way of summary, that Tansley was a man in every sense, that he was a gentleman in every sense, and that, as far as it is humanly possible, he embodied unselfishness. He was a man through and through. Whatever his hand found to do he did it with his might; and when he had decided what ought to be done, he was absolutely fearless of man or thing. He was very humble-minded, but he was not meek. He had a high spirit and strong temper, though under control. He was patient, enduring, and determined. He never whined, but acted with

his whole heart and strength. He was a gentleman, too, in every respect, outwardly as well as in the essence. In speech and manner he had the simple, unaffected courtesy of an educated and refined man, and to his mind anything mean, untruthful, dirty, or ungenerous was absolutely abhorrent. Those who were under him had a most liberal and sympathetic master; and those who were his colleagues, whether they agreed with him on any point or not, knew by instinct as well as experience that his whole mind and heart were open to all men. Self never entered into his calculations. He literally went about doing good, intent on that one object, regardless not merely of personal profit and advancement, but of personal comfort and convenience. He was much too shrewd to be imposed upon when it was a matter of business, but it was very difficult for those who were intimate with him and constantly in his company not to take advantage of him in everyday life, without having the slightest intention of doing so. One division of mankind is into those who wish to pay for others and those who wish others to pay for them. The latter are called men of the world. Tansley belonged to the

former category. I noted in him, as indeed in other followers of Maurice and his colleagues, an intense desire to give, to take the worse and prefer others to the better place, to do his friend's work as well as his own.

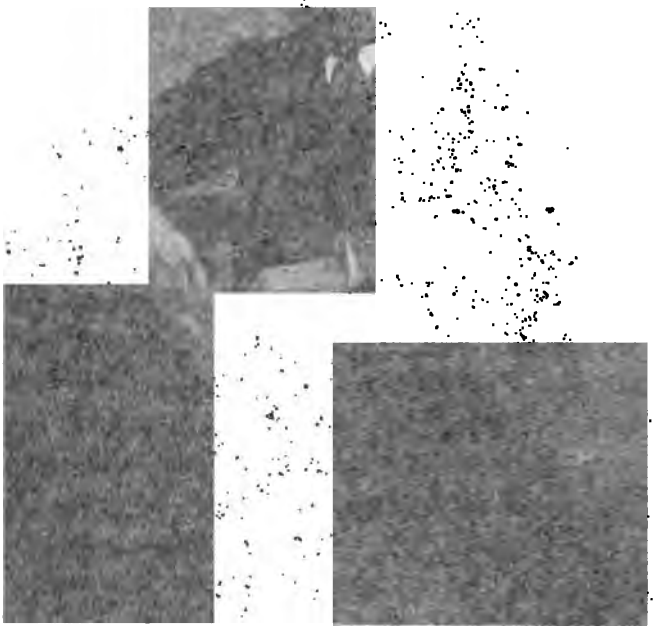
All who knew him well—and they were many —will agree in the truth of these statements, but they may not all have reflected out of what an unpromising soil such a character grew. This was no case of a man whose natural ability was stimulated by bitter poverty. There was nothing romantic, nothing picturesque, from the world's point of view, about his career. His father was a shopkeeper in comfortable circumstances; he himself was the sole heir to all his father had; his youth was spent in the very prosaic task of improving the business. He became better and better off in a line suggestive of little except money-making. In nine cases out of ten, in ninety-nine out of a hundred, successful business men, if health and family circumstances permit, go on to make large fortunes. They do so, as a rule, not as money-grubbers, but to carry out their career to its legitimate conclusion, to have more power, a higher position, greater capacity and opportunities

for doing good. Why was Tansley an exception to the rule? The only possible answer is that a naturally fine character was specially influenced by the Working Men's College.

To the question, "What good has the Working Men's College done?" we may reply with Mr. Litchfield, "Well, for one thing, it produced, or helped to produce, George Tansley." For here was a case in which a man, brought up in no scholarly or heroic surroundings, when he had already achieved success, and each year might have brought with it less effort and greater prosperity, was delighted to count it all loss that he might give his life to his fellows.

C. P. LUCAS.

Lord Avebury.



A FORMER PRINCIPAL'S IMPRESSIONS

Up to the year 1883 I had only a general knowledge of the Working Men's College as one of the most valuable institutions in the educational system of the Metropolis, and indeed a pioneer among those which endeavoured to extend to our people in all classes the benefit of University education. I was therefore surprised at receiving from my friend, Mr. Litchfield, a letter inviting me, on the part of the Council, to accept the Principalship in succession to Mr. Hughes, who was leaving London. From the establishment of the College in 1854 there had only been two Principals—Mr. Maurice himself from 1854 to 1872, and Mr. Hughes from 1872 to 1883. It was no light matter to succeed these two distinguished men, and my time being so much occupied, I felt that I could not adequately perform the duties of the position, and wrote therefore to decline, expressing at the

same time my regret, and my warm appreciation of the valuable services which the College had rendered to the Metropolis. To this the Council replied again urging me to accept the office. Having frankly stated my difficulties, having so many friends in the Council on whose judgment I could rely, and who knew thoroughly the working of the College, and being so completely in harmony with its objects and aspirations, I felt that I ought to leave myself in their hands, and was accordingly elected Principal.

The working of the College was everything that I had expected—the classes numerous, well attended, well taught, and well conducted. I had not, however, realised fully the beneficial effect of the spirit of good-fellowship in the College, though I knew theoretically that it had been an important element of the system inaugurated by Maurice and carried on by Hughes. It is one of the good influences which in our country so happily link different classes together. This indeed was one of the main ideas which animated and inspired the founders and early supporters of the College—Maurice himself, Hughes, Ludlow, Litchfield, Kingsley, Ruskin,

Furnivall, Prof. Westlake, and others. This characteristic is illustrated by the number of clubs which have been started, and which contribute so much to the social life of the College —such as the Old Students' Club, the Maurice Cricket Club, Rowing, Swimming, and Gymnastic Clubs, the Musical Society, the Lubbock Field Club, and others. The friendly spirit thus evoked was shown in many pleasant gatherings in connection with events interesting to the College, as, for instance, to celebrate the marriages of Mr. Crawley and Mr. Pocock, and the silver wedding of Mr. Tansley, and above all in the annual suppers of the Old Students' Club, held before Christmas, and attended by constantly growing numbers of past and present students and teachers.

We have also been most fortunate in those who have conducted classes, such as, for instance, Sir E. Burne-Jones, Sir G. Lushington, Mr. Woolner, Sir J. E. Gorst, as well as in those who have been good enough to give us lectures or addresses; among whom, and not coming down to recent years, I might mention the late Archbishop of Canterbury, the late Dean of Westminster, Lord Bowen, Sir James Paget,

Sir W. H. Flower, Lord Milner, Sir J. R. Seeley, Sir M. Grant Duff, Sir A. Lyall, Prof. Bonney, Mrs. Fawcett, Canon Ainger, Sir Hugh Low, Mr. Armytage Smith, and many more.

I retained the Principalship from 1883 to 1898—for fifteen years.

It was always a matter of regret to me that the pressure of other duties precluded me from giving as much time and thought to the College as I could have wished. I was fortunate, however, and the College was fortunate, in securing the services of excellent Vice-Principals, and any shortcomings of mine were more than made up by the energy and devotion of Mr. Crawley, Mr. Mure, and Mr. Lucas, aided and supported as they were by an able and painstaking Council, and above all by Mr. Tansley, the excellent Director of Studies.

When I became connected with the College there were 24 teachers, 39 classes, 607 students, and 689 class entries. When I resigned the numbers were 56 teachers, 92 classes, 700 students, and 900 entries. The increase, therefore, was substantial, and would have been much greater but for the establishment of so many other schools and colleges, at which all friends

of education must rejoice, but which necessarily attracted many students who would otherwise have come to the Working Men's College.

In this connection it has always been a matter of surprise and regret to me that the Commissioners entrusted with the redistribution of the City Parochial Funds allocated so little to our older London educational institutions, and were so much more liberal to the new Polytechnics. Not that I fail to appreciate the good work the Polytechnics are doing, or grudge them a penny of what they have received, but I do feel that University College, King's College, and the Working Men's College did not receive the consideration and support which they might justly have expected. No doubt what they did receive was of substantial value. The pecuniary position of the Working Men's College was most unsatisfactory, and the addition to its income came at a critical time.

We were most anxious, however, to have strengthened the scientific side of the College. But laboratories and instruments are expensive, and we had hoped that we should have received enough to enable us to give more satisfactory instruction in such subjects. The new Poly-

technics have been liberally supplied with capital for these purposes, and I cannot but think that some corresponding amount should have been allocated to the Working Men's College.

The College is now attempting to raise a building fund, which would enable it to carry out this important object. Considerable progress has been made, and I trust the necessary amount may soon be completed.

In conclusion, may I say that I shall always look back on my long connection with the Working Men's College with pleasure and interest? I owe to it many valuable friends, and if I cannot feel that I was able to do all that I could have wished, at any rate, thanks mainly, no doubt, to others, the College made substantial progress during the fifteen years I was Principal. Finally, my regret at resigning the Principalship was greatly mitigated by being able to hand it over to so distinguished a successor as Prof. A. V. Dicey, under whose guidance I trust, and do not doubt, that in the future a long and increasing career of usefulness awaits the Working Men's College.

AVEBURY.

THE COLLEGE AND THE OLDER UNIVERSITIES

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, the founder of the Working Men's College, was not an academician, but he was more than anything else a "University man" in the special English sense of the phrase: it was in the atmosphere and under the influence of both our old Universities that he became what he always remained; he was thoroughly imbued with the University spirit and with the spirit of English College life, and he retained throughout his career more of that spirit, than did any other famous man who has left his mark by long and strenuous service in the great world outside the academic groves.

"College spirit" has its most characteristic seat in Oxford and Cambridge. It may be defined as common education and common intellectual endeavour, inspired by the friendship of some, and the good-fellowship of all the

members of an educational institution. This spirit, in its noblest manifestations, is different from and superior to mere unthinking *esprit de corps.* It was the secret of Maurice's own lovableness and good-fellowship, of his strenuousness and generosity, of his love of truth and his liberality to all who sought it in whatever form, of his idealism that made him indifferent to unpopularity, of his unworldliness, which never flagged throughout his long contest in the midst of the things of this world. For his heart was fixed on friendship, not on worldly honours; on intellectual things, not on personal success. This is the true "College spirit," though there are often seen counterfeits passing under the same name. This spirit of friendship and good-fellowship, as the basis of liberal education, he determined to transplant to a new home in London. In instituting the Working Men's College he had, besides the idea of Christian Socialism, besides the idea of giving the working class the means of education then denied to them elsewhere, the further idea of transplanting to a Working Men's College the best of the "College spirit" of Oxford and Cambridge.

This part of the scheme could, at least in its

initial stages, only be effected by the help of some at least of the Oxford and Cambridge men. Such men were ready to Maurice's hand—in Tom Hughes, Kingsley, Litchfield, Westlake, and Furnivall. It would be hard to name people better qualified for the task. Like Maurice himself, they were the "College spirit" incarnate. These, and others, who had the true "College spirit" without ever having been at Oxford or Cambridge, gave to the Working Men's College at its origin that indescribable atmosphere which it has kept ever since as its peculiar heritage—the air of friendship, good-fellowship, equality, and common endeavour towards the things of the mind, irrespective of any ulterior object, material, religious, or political. It is this that makes it so attractive to many Oxford and Cambridge men, and which renders the connection with the older Universities peculiarly easy and peculiarly desirable.

Yet it must be freely admitted that, from time to time, this connection has been in some respects in abeyance. It was never wholly in abeyance, for the teaching work has always been done, and the social life of the College has always been led, partly by old Oxford and Cam-

bridge men as well as by old students of the College itself. But these old Oxford and Cambridge men generally came to the College rather through personal connections, than directly by connection of the Working Men's College with their old Universities; indeed, the local connections with Oxford and Cambridge had a few years ago been allowed almost completely to disappear. Of late years, however, there has been a strong movement, both in London and at Cambridge, to renew direct connection between the University that was Maurice's mother and the College that was his child. I am personally better acquainted with this than with the movement of local connection with Oxford (which is, I believe, not so strong among the younger men, in spite of the zeal of our Principal, Professor Dicey). It is therefore the connection of the Working Men's College with Cambridge of which I am now speaking; but all that I have to say would apply equally well to the old Oxford men who are now working at the Working Men's College, and to any direct local connection that may hereafter be formed with Oxford. For the purposes of my theme there is no difference between the two older Universities.

The work of mutual rescue for the richer and poorer classes has now many fields open to it in Settlements and Missions scattered over London. It should be the object of every Oxford and Cambridge man, at the time of his leaving the University, if not before, to choose from so large a field that particular institution and that particular class of work which will best suit his temperament and talents. The boys' club at a Church Mission will suit one, Toynbee another, the Charity Organisation Society's work a third. The Working Men's College does not pretend to be superior to these institutions, only to be different from them, just as they are different from each other. There are certain types of people who will be more at home working at the Working Men's College than elsewhere.

The peculiar suitability of the Working Men's College as a field of work for some types of reading men at Oxford and Cambridge lies in the fact that its prime object is educational. The foundation on which its social life has been erected is not religion, or charity, or even "social work," but education. The work here is not swimming, or boys' clubs, or visiting, but giving a liberal education to working men and

clerks, generally of considerable intelligence and some rudimentary training. The social life of musical societies, debating clubs, and athletics here does not require "running." The clubs run themselves on democratic principles, but welcome the aid and stimulus of those who come from outside to share in their life. Now there are some people from the older Universities who find it difficult to overstep the barriers of class and upbringing in places where they have to take the lead at once, to show a superiority which they do not feel or which they wish to hide. These week-kneed recruits to the army of social progress would be well advised to try the Working Men's College. They will be plunged into an atmosphere where they will be happy at once. They will see here the face of their fellow-men, which otherwise might be veiled from them until the day came when they had settled down to the harness of a profession, doomed for ever to know no class but their own. If the work at the College cannot be described as one of mutual rescue, it is at any rate one of mutual improvement.

The College, being primarily an educational institution, is detached from all dogmatic and anti-

dogmatic tendencies. No one asks who believes what, except occasionally when two or three friends get intimate and talk together. The Churchman, the Passive Resister, the Agnostic sit down in each other's company without being aware of how near the ceiling must be to a collapse. We do not know whether or not there are many people in the College who agree with Maurice's theological opinions, and we do not inquire, but at any rate we have all got something of his liberal spirit in these matters. To some this atmosphere takes the whole heart out of any enterprise or institution, but to others it offers immense attractions.

Politics are, of course, more frequently and publicly debated, but even in politics the Working Man's College is neutral, though highly argumentative. No one feels "out of it" for being a pro-Boer or a Protectionist. I have "been through the war" at the College, and can witness that it was one of the few places where it was then possible to be happy for a few minutes together. I think weekly visits to College during the war saved several from the madhouse. And yet we were always discussing it from quite opposite points of view.

But how, asks the University man at this stage, am I to enter this home of liberal education, and what can I do when I get there?

The University men who can help the College are of three classes:—

1. Dons.

2. Undergraduates and B.A.'s resident at Oxford or Cambridge.

3. Men who come up to London from Oxford and Cambridge.

Each of these classes has separate openings.

1. *Dons.*—The only safeguard for permanent connection between the old Universities and the College must be the Don. We do not need many of this class, but we need them very good. The ideal would be one good Don, permanently resident in each College of Oxford and Cambridge; and one Chief Don to pull all their strings. At Cambridge Mr. F. M. Cornford is an excellent Chief Don, and we have several good Dons in several Colleges. The functions of this informal organisation of Dons, which depends entirely on its *personnel* for success, is:—

(*a*) To manage the yearly visit of the Working Men's College to the University.

(*b*) To recruit young men at the various

colleges who are likely to be interested in the Working Men's College.

(*c*) To lecture occasionally at the College.

(*a*) *The yearly visit* takes place in the summer term. The object is, not to take a hundred or more Working Men's College men round the sights of Cambridge and feed them by fifties in a hall, but to distribute the largest number possible (twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty) among hosts who will really treat them as guests, and give them meals and entertainment by twos and by threes in the College rooms. A shifting about of guests and hosts for each meal is desirable, and needs organising. By this means very great pleasure is given; the Working Men's College men see the inside of University life, and in some cases even of University thought; many undergraduates and Dons get to know and like the Working Men's College men; personal friendships are formed, and real interest in the College is created at the old University.

(*b*) It is largely by the visit that the recruiting among the young men for workers at the Working Men's College is effected. The month after the visit, the Dons in the various colleges and the Chief Don ought to be able to

arrange many excellent things, such as getting down the Maurice Football Club to play some team at the old University, a chess tournament, the visit of some undergraduates to the Working Men's College, the promise of some young man just going up to London to take a Latin or History class at the Working Men's College next October. But the visit is a good in itself, it is not merely a means to good. That is a proposition to which all guests and hosts would subscribe.

(*c*) There are free public lectures given every Saturday at the Working Men's College on miscellaneous subjects, which distinguished Dons from Oxford and Cambridge have thought it an honour to give. It is one of the best audiences in London. Other Dons, as our Principal from Oxford and Mr. Cornford from Cambridge, have been known to come up once a week to take a class. I myself attended Mr. Cornford's class on Plato's Philosophy with a dozen fellow-students, and he made us understand it to an extraordinary degree.

2. *Undergraduates and B.A.'s resident at Oxford or Cambridge.*—The undergraduates cannot be encouraged to go up once a week to London to take classes, but many partially idle

B.A.'s might do much worse for themselves for a few weeks. They will learn much, and perhaps teach something. Then members of the Working Men's College can be asked down to Oxford or Cambridge by undergraduates and B.A.'s, either in their individual capacity as friends, or in their corporate capacity as the Maurice Football Club, or otherwise. In the vacation, the Musical Society and the athletic clubs and the Debating Society can be visited. All these sorts of things can be arranged with secretaries and members of the Working Men's College at the annual visit, or by the help of the Chief Don.

3. *Men who come up to London from Oxford and Cambridge.*—Lastly, the young man just leaving Oxford or Cambridge should hasten, before the doors of his profession close for ever between him and all chance of experience and change of idea, to join in the music, the games, the debates of the College, and to take a class for a course of a few weeks. The Secretary and Vice-Principal are always ready to welcome and direct such as willingly offer themselves for any of these services. One word to those who take classes at the Working Men's College. Remember that the education here is essentially

a part of the social life. We are not an Extension Lecture or a Night School. Our lecture system differs even from the lecture system of Oxford and Cambridge, in that there is no distinction of college or academic rank between teachers and taught. The teachers at one class are often students at another. We are friends educating each other. Therefore go early enough and stop late enough of an evening to mix in the common-room life; if possible, have your supper at the College; wait for the Debate, the Musical Society, or whatever else may be on. And do not be disappointed if your class happens to be small. The classes in some subjects are very large. But you will have more opportunity to get to know the men if they are few, and to make friends with them. Therefore take a class of four and a class of twenty-five with equal thanks.

I think I have now sufficiently explained the general objects and needs of the Working Men's College in regard to the connection with older universities. There are infinite possibilities in this connection, but I have been content to mention existing conditions, which a very little energy and imagination may considerably enlarge in our new home. G. M. TREVELYAN.

THE COLLEGE CLUBS

To write an account of the Clubs of the College during its existence of half a century is not an easy task; for while their names are legion, they varied greatly in the amount of vitality that was in them. Clubs, out-door and in-door, of every description, have been formed, some of which have been sturdy products that have grown and flourished for years, notwithstanding financial or other difficulties, while many have been weaklings, and have only had a short existence. Generally, it has been found that a club lasts until the enthusiasm that called it into being has been exhausted.

The Cricket and the Rowing Clubs both seem to have gone through many changes of fortune; they rose and fell, and again rose and fell, but the College has generally had a Cricket Club and a Rowing Club, sometimes composed wholly of College men, and at other times of members and

non-members of the College. As being the first approach to a club in the order of date and of importance, on account of its teacher, it may be desirable to take the Boxing Class of Mr. Hughes. This was, in fact, a section of what was subsequently the Working Men's College Gymnastic Society. It must be noted that clubs are sometimes named societies or associations, but they are none the less clubs. The first teacher of gymnastics in the College, and especially of boxing, was its second Principal, and one of its founders, Tom Hughes, who, many years afterwards, wrote a book for his own children, called *Early Memories*, from which the following is quoted :—

"I was one of the examiners for matriculation at the opening of the College in 1854, and in that capacity made the wholesome discovery that my knowledge of grammar and familiarity with the rule of three and long-division were by no means sufficient to qualify me for teacher in these branches. So when the classes were organised the only one which I felt competent to take was the legal one. The law of partnership and association, as it affected the working classes, was familiar to me, as I had

lately been helping in the promotion and passing of the first Industrial and Provident Societies Act. So the class was started, and some eight or ten pupils entered, but the subject was soon exhausted, and their interest in it, and at the end of the second term the class collapsed. I was still anxious to do some work, but what? All the regular classes were fully manned with teachers, and no new ones were needed. There was one opening, however, which I thought I had discovered, and after some hesitation named it to our Principal. I had been struck, and told him so, by the awkward gait and unhealthy look of almost all our pupils. Many of them were strong, big men, and, no doubt, good handicraftsmen in their own trades; but there was scarcely one amongst them who seemed to have the free use of his arms and legs. Round shoulders, narrow chests, stiff limbs, were, I submitted, as bad as defective grammar and arithmetic, quite as easily cured, and as much our business, if we were to educate the whole man. Mr. Maurice assented at once, but what did I want to do? I should like, I said, to start gymnastics. He agreed, but how was it possible? Space would be required, and appar-

atus—parallel and horizontal bars, and other appliances. Yes, I replied, but they were not necessary for a start. There was no exercise so good for my purpose as boxing, and there was a big unused room in the basement that would do for that. The other things could wait. Would he let me have this room for a boxing class? The dear prophet was somewhat taken aback. I don't think he liked it much, but he consented, and I put up the necessary notice, brought up my old, well-used gloves, had the big room cleared and the gas lit, and awaited pupils in trousers and flannel shirt, the sleeves rolled up above my elbows. They were shy at first, but, the ice once broken, came by dozens, so that I had all my work cut out. And good hard work it was for some time, as I made it a rule that every pupil must spar with me only, until I had tested his temper, strength, and skill, and knew how far he could be trusted. Boxing, I impressed upon them, was a science, in which no real progress was possible except according to rules and principles, which had to be mastered patiently. Nothing but loss of temper and bloody noses would come of mere pummelling matches. I had a right to speak confidently, as

I had served a thorough apprenticeship myself. . . . My class throve beyond my expectations, and at first was very easy work, as I had only to set to with men and big boys who knew nothing, with one exception. This was a young Irishman, Donovan by name, a straight, loose-jointed, active fellow, with a very quick eye, who, I found in our first encounter, knew about as much as I did myself. Luckily I was taller and longer in the reach, and heavier by a stone or more, and so managed to assert myself, and keep the respect of the class, by now and then driving him into a corner. But this was not the sort of pupil I wanted, so I at once utilised him by making him deputy-professor, and giving him three or four pupils a night to spar with, under my eyes. He made an admirable teacher, as his temper was as good as his science. . . . It was not long, however, that the work remained light, for the pupils advanced rapidly, and several of them soon became ugly customers, so that to spar with three or four of them in a night, as well as to give lessons to the beginners, was quite as much as I could manage. One in particular, Jim Fisher, who stood six feet one inch, and had a long reach for his height, though at

first as stiff and clumsy as any of the squad, after a few lessons turned out as awkward a man to stand before as you could meet in a day's march, and though an excellent fellow in all ways, I found that it would not do to match him with beginners, and so had to spar with him every night myself. In order to do justice to the rest, I had to put him off to the last, and used to be by no means sorry when his other classes kept him till ten o'clock, our closing hour, so that our encounters were of the shortest. Another pupil was one of the most attractive men I have ever known, a brushmaker, Hurst by name. His outward man was in no way pleasing—indeed, much the reverse. He had a long, slight figure, which he much neglected in the matter of clothing, wearing such ragged garments when he came to matriculate, that our first Secretary (Thomas Shorter), himself a working watchmaker and a strong radical, had doubts whether he should allow him to enter. His hair was long and rough, he had lost most of his front teeth, and he had a sallow complexion and a ragged, thin beard. In short, a more forlorn figure it would be hard to find in Ratcliff Highway or Whitechapel. No man had ever more external

disadvantages to contend against, and no man ever lived them down in less time. He was soon one of the most popular members of the social gatherings for tea and talk, which we held after the College classes closed at ten, in the Common Room, where his song of a "Tight little Island" was called for nightly, and I remember made a strong impression on Nathaniel Hawthorne, then American Consul at Liverpool, who was brought one night as a distinguished guest. Hurst[1] was a diligent student, and a pupil of Mr. Vernon Lushington's. I have now had in use for some forty years brushes that he made for me. They have twice as many bristles in them as those you buy in Bond Street or Piccadilly. He was too honest to make money. He was serenely careless as to his health, poor fellow, and would sit at his work at home or at the College in wet clothes, and so got violent colds,

[1] Mr. A. J. Munby, in whose class Hurst was, writing this year of some of his pupils, says, "The third man was Hurst, 'the beloved brushmaker' as Litchfield has well called him. I had the warmest regard, and indeed a real affection, for Hurst. His unassuming poverty, his innocent, trustful character, and the absolute purity of his motives for wishing to learn, attracted me most powerfully. Of all the College students whom I have known, Hurst was the one man who thoroughly fulfilled the ideal of a working-man student, which our Founder desired to realise."

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Major Philip Read, referring to the first College Cricket Club, writes :—

"I joined the College in 1857, and the first Cricket Club was formed during that winter. One of my earliest and most pleasant outings with the College folk was on the following Good Friday, when we went to the Maypole at Chigwell, and played in front of that famous old inn. Besides the members already mentioned, Jim Fisher, Billy Ricketts, and Tommy Martin joined us for tea at the Maypole. Most of the same men played in the team until the old 19th Middlesex was formed. We played on the Gospel Oak ground on Saturday afternoons, finishing up with a tea and sing-song—Bromhall and Taylor singing, and Roebuck reciting. We tried a Football Club, Mr. Hughes going to Battersea Park to coach us, but that club, to the best of my knowledge, proved a failure."

Referring to the same Cricket Club, Mr. Richard C. Taylor writes:—"A club, in a clubbist's sense, it was not. By some means we got some stumps and a bat or two, and something like a ball, and all who cared to come and play, or try to play, did so. We also occasionally played other clubs, and got beaten." And on the same subject Mr. John Bromhall says:—"We had a private pitch in what was then Gospel Oak Fields. Where the money came from to pay for it, I do not know. I don't think the club could have stood it. I was very soon made Captain. Price's Candle Factory Club was one of our most friendly opponents in regular matches. The volunteer movement, which, I think, the College was one of the first institutions to take up, rather upset the Cricket Club for a season."

There is no record of the date when the original Working Men's College Cricket Club came to an end, or how long it lasted, but it appears that a new Cricket Club was started in 1870 or 1871, under the title of the Maurice Cricket Club. In reference to this club, Mr. C. J. Watson, an old member of the College, writes:—"Jack Bromhall was Captain, and I was

Secretary. I wrote to Tom Hughes asking him to be President; he accepted, and we were pleased to have his name on our match cards. We used to play on the senior practice ground in Regent's Park, with varying success, for some years. The only exciting incident that I remember was when the then 20th Middlesex Rifle Corps were given orders to march across our wickets. The band, which was playing, got as far as the middle of our pitch, but no farther, as at that stage a free fight began, bats and stumps being freely used. I remember Tom Vokins performing in a very efficient and workmanlike manner on a bandsman twice his size, the huge brass instrument flourished by the bandsman getting considerably 'crumpled.' Several clubs had joined us, making common cause against the aggressors, who, after a few minutes, were wheeled off the ground, amid a storm of abuse and jeers. And didn't we shout! We could shout in those days. As a result, four or five clubs were suspended for a month. I wrote to the Commissioner of Works on behalf of the Maurice and other clubs, praying to be reinstated —which prayer was granted—and I never heard of our noble defenders marching across wickets

afterwards. We had some fair players in that club. Jack Bromhall, who was even then looked upon as a veteran cricketer, was good; and Harry Bromhall was perhaps our best all-round player. There was no College *Journal* in those days, and, beyond a little boxing and dumb-bell practice, I think the cricket was the only athletic club in the College. Before the class-rooms were built on the garden there were parallel bars there, and several of us were most assiduous in putting the shot. At that Gus Rosenthal was easily first: the late George Godfrey never could come near him, in spite of his fine physique."

Mr. L. E. Thomas, Captain of the Maurice Cricket Club from 1884 to 1889, which appears to have been the successor to the one started in 1870, writes:—

"The Maurice Cricket Club was started largely under the enthusiasm of Edwards, who was not a playing member. It enjoyed the advantage, during the whole of its career, of having as its President the present Colonial Secretary, the Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, who on one occasion gave us his assistance in the field, always presided at our dinners, and was ever ready with a substantial subscription. We also had Mr. C. P.

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Price's Candle Works, so that the Working Men's College Corps, or 19th Middlesex, became, almost at once, one of the strongest metropolitan battalions."

In 1890 there appears to have been a club called the Maurice Boxing Club, and, later on, the Ormond Boxing Club, but no records remain of either of them. For some years past a Gymnastic Society, for which Mr. Lionel Jeans did much, has been active in the College, meeting, for want of a better place, in the Gymnasium attached to St. George's Church, Little Russell Street, W.C., and afterwards in the room under St. George the Martyr in Queen Square, and now in Room B at the College, where it is very much in evidence on Saturday evening.

Cricket Club

In June 1858 a meeting was held in the Coffee Room "to consider the propriety of forming a club for the practice of cricket, all interested in the game being requested to attend." Under the name of the Working Men's College Cricket Club, a club was started, with an entrance fee of 6d., and a monthly subscription of the same

amount during the season. John Roebuck was Secretary, and George Tansley, Treasurer. Amongst the other members were W. Thrower, J. R. Evans, W. Turner, J. P. Emslie, W. White, R. L. Fleming, R. C. Taylor, H. J. Wright, John Fotheringham, R. B. Litchfield, John Bromhall, W. H. Ricketts, and F. J. Furnivall.

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Lucas as Vice-President. We started playing in Regent's Park, where we were reinforced by Jack Bromhall. Our chief feat on that field consisted in disposing of our opponents for four runs, two of which were extras. We ran concerts in the winter, and with financial prosperity we migrated to the Eton and Middlesex cricket ground, and we soon had some seventy members, ran two teams regularly, and occasionally three. Our chief feats there consisted in our putting the Clapham Ramblers out for, I think, 13 runs; in running up a score of about 260 against the powerful South Hampstead Cricket Club, when C. P. Lucas made 92; and in defeating good teams of veteran players which Lucas used to bring against us. I remember he once brought Sir Augustus Henning, lately Governor of Jamaica, an old Oxford blue named T. B. Jones, and more than once Mr. A. J. Ashton and Mr. Albert Gray. We reached our zenith when we defeated the first eleven of the Polytechnic, including Mr. J. E. K. Studd, and played a close game with Jesus College (Cambridge) Vacation eleven, which included E. B. Brutton and W. N. Cobbold, when we put them out for 72. We also made a fair fight with a weak team

against King's School at Canterbury, when, I believe, my young brother, A. C. Thomas, sent a leg ball down the hill for 9 runs! The match in which Alfred Lyttelton played was against a club on the ground of the Brixton Wanderers. I don't know whether I wanted to show off as wicket-keeper in the presence of the Prince of Wicket-keepers, or whether we were short of bowlers, but I know that I kept wicket myself and put Lyttelton on to bowl! He, however, took seven or eight wickets, which justified my action, and then made 100 not out, when he had to leave.

"I think the club was in existence for five or six years, and I often wonder, when I read in the *Journal* of the doings of the present Maurice Cricket Club, whether a team of the old club could do battle with the club of to-day. I believe a team could be got together, and I should like to see a match arranged for a College excursion between veterans and the present representatives of the College. Some men only joined the College to belong to the club. Outside support was necessary in order to provide funds. Finding ultimately, as I thought, that the *bona fide* members of the

College could not find time to play cricket, I resigned office. We presented to the College the club bag and such other corporate property as we possessed, and the Maurice Cricket Club became merely a memory—a very pleasant one to those who were members of it; an inspiring one I hope, to those who succeed us."

Mr. C. P. Lucas, C.B., our late Vice-Principal, in his article on "Athletics" in the *Journal* of May 1891, speaking of this club, says:—

"Some of the pleasantest of my many pleasant recollections in connection with the W.M.C. are bound up with cricket. I never liked the game more than on the Eton and Middlesex ground,[1] where no one should play who has a wife and family to provide for; and no excursions in my life have been more enjoyable than those to the Universities, to Canterbury, to Arundel, and elsewhere, when we proved a pride to our friends and a terror to our enemies. Yes, those were indeed days to live in and rejoice. It was something to be presided over by Mr. Lyttelton, to see Mr. L. E. Thomas behind the wickets, and Mr. J. Bromhall between them, to know that

[1] The Eton and Middlesex ground, near Primrose Hill, is now covered with houses.

the funds of the club were in the safe keeping of Mr. Edwards, and to wear a cap with M.C.C. upon it. Cricket is the fruitful mother of friendship, of *esprit de corps*, and of English manhood. The College lost a good deal when it lost its club, and any one who can revive it and place it upon a sound and lasting basis will stand high in the list of pious founders and benefactors. The success of the Maurice Cricket Club was entirely due to the energy of three or four men, notably Mr. L. E. Thomas, and the club died away when those men had no longer sufficient leisure to carry on its management. A cricket club at the W.M.C. is beset with difficulties. The members of the College are busy men, they are working for their living, and living for their work; they have no sooner joined a club and begun to take an active part in pursuit of the objects for which it was formed than their work or their newly-married wife calls them elsewhere. It is therefore hard for them to take up any amusement steadily and continuously, to carry a season through, and look forward to another; and yet, if a club is to be maintained, it must be given the steady, continuous support of single-minded and, shall

we add, single-bodied men. Again, the students are mostly poor men, whereas the limited number of open spaces in London,[1] and the consequent difficulty of procuring a suitable playground within reasonable distance, makes cricket a somewhat expensive pastime. . . . One suggestion, at any rate, may be worth consideration. It is that the experiment of organising athletic sports once a year should be tried. It seems very natural and right that a college such as ours should have its annual athletic meeting."

Eight years afterwards, in 1899, thanks to Mr. H. R. Levinsohn, the Sports Meeting was instituted, and has been held each year since that date.

The Maurice Cricket Club still continues in a healthy condition, and has a private ground at Willesden, with Lord Avebury as its President and Messrs. Duchesne and Alden as Captains respectively of the first and second eleven.

[1] Since this date the London Playing Fields Association has done much active work in securing open spaces, which it sublets to London clubs for cricket and football.

Rowing Club

In May 1860 it was suggested that a Rowing Club should be formed, based upon the simplest rules. Students wishing to further the proposal were invited to meet at the ensuing social gathering to talk it over and arrange a plan. The W.M.C. Rowing Club was duly formed—F. J. Furnivall being President, and F. Freethy Captain, Treasurer, and Secretary; entrance fee, 2s., and 10s. down, or 1s. per month during the season. In a report of the Rowing Club for 1866 it is stated that in the summer of 1865 it started with forty members, and at the end of the season it purchased a four-oared boat, and the President gave a prize for a four-oared match. In a match during this season the club was able to man a boat which, though the men in it were rowing under considerable disadvantages, yet kept close up to the best crew of an old-established club, and at the winning-post was but a quarter of a length behind. In 1868 another club seems to have been formed, F. J. Furnivall being President, George Godfrey, Captain, John Crowther, Treasurer and Secretary; with subscription 2s. 6d. a quarter, or

10s. for the season. Rule 10 provided that no member should be allowed to row in a fully outrigged club boat unless he was able to swim. In 1869 this club issued a report in which the members were recommended to learn to swim, and the balance in hand at the date of the Report was stated to be £17 : 17 : 2, which indicated a flourishing state of affairs.

Mr. J. Rigby Smith writes as follows in reference to the first Rowing Club :—

"About 1865 a Rowing Club was formed in the College, which I joined; later the name was changed to the 'Astrea,' because 'Working Men' was a boycotted title on the river. It disqualified for races with other clubs. I have a pewter in front of me which I think commemorated the first race, rowed from Hammersmith to Barnes, in September 1865, the winning crew being J. R. Smith (1), F. Stalman (2), J. Grattan (3), Alexander Naughty (stroke), J. M'Kimmie (cox); Payton, Freethy, and Crowther being in the losing boat. Some years later I rowed in a race between two eights from Putney to Hammersmith. The club had then changed its boat-house from Hammersmith to Putney." This club probably lasted for some years, but no

records exist of the interval between it and January 1879, when the following notice appeared in the College prospectus :—"The Maurice Rowing Club is composed of members of the College. Subscription, 5s. per annum, including the use of the club dressing-room at the Rutland Hotel, Hammersmith."

The Maurice Rowing Club flourished from 1880 to 1887, George Davenport and J. W. Jenkins holding at different periods the post of Honorary Secretary. We find a few names of College men besides the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, such as W. E. Mullett, J. E. Jones, Edward Murphy, R. W. R. Stokes, and Thomas Haigh; but many of the names are unknown to the College, so it is probable that the club included many who were not members. The club's balance-sheet for 1882-83 shows a total income, including a balance brought forward of £23, of no less a sum than £107 odd, and a membership of 180—an unusually prosperous state of affairs for a College club. In 1885 the club changed its quarters from Welshman's to Biffen's. In this same year Dr. Furnivall issued a circular on the question of Sculls *v.* Oars, in which he appealed for subscriptions

"to enable the club to get two new fours on an improved model." His contention at that date was that in all boats sculls should be substituted for oars. "The sculls," he says, "walked away from the oars so cheerfully that the oars gave in before half the race was over." The President and the present club seem to be of the same opinion still, as the "Furnivall" is a "sculling," not a "rowing" club.

In 1893 Dr. Furnivall resigned the presidency of the Maurice Rowing Club, and Mr. Arthur B. Shaw, for a long time our very successful Greek teacher, was elected his successor. In February 1894 the club met for the last time, the reason given for its coming to an end being that the other clubs on the river considered "Maurice" to be equivalent to "Working Men," and working men's clubs are not recognised on the river or allowed to enter for any races with the other clubs, a rule which justly raised the ire and vexed the soul of Dr. Furnivall.

Football Club

In 1895 the W.M.C. Football Club was started, and has ever since continued to flourish

in the College, the game of football having made much progress since the days when Tom Hughes went to Battersea Park to coach some College men with the view of forming a club, to which Major Read refers in his remarks on the first College Cricket Club. That proposed Football Club was a failure. The existing club has a ground at Shepherd's Bush, and has Mr. W. Duncan for its Secretary.

In concluding a short sketch of the principal athletic clubs that have existed in the College during the fifty years it has been in existence, a further extract from the paper by Mr. C. P. Lucas, in the *Journal* of May 1891, may be quoted. What he says of our outdoor clubs was true then and is true now. "Athletics at the W.M.C.," he says, "have had a spasmodic existence. One season a club blossoms out into a bright and brilliant existence, the next its place knows it not, and a few genial memories alone survive to remind us of the past, and make us wish for more. I have known cricket, football, swimming, and boxing clubs, but will not now write the story of their decline and fall. Only the Maurice Rowing Club has held its own, managed, it may be, by

harder heads or sculls than the others. At present, however, there are signs of a new birth. A gymnastic society is rising out of the ashes of a boxing club; a notice of a new cricket club has appeared on the College walls, to my great joy; and your last number tells me that the swimming club is in process of regeneration. . . . Now, what is a club? It is a social organism with social environments (no definition at the present day is considered satisfactory which does not contain longer words than the one defined). It is a collection of men or women, or both, of various tempers and sizes, some of whom are misfits. Not only its success, but its very existence depends on the one or two men who will work it; on a wise, tolerant, but withal despotic Captain, and a Secretary who has time to give, and gives it, to a task which is very thankless and very troublesome, which involves many kicks and unpleasantly few halfpence."

No doubt the establishment and management of a club has an educative tendency, and the sense of responsibility that attaches to all who hold office has a beneficial effect in the formation of character of the younger men. All the contributions from the students of the earliest times

show how great was the value to them of the social life which the clubs have done, and continue to do, so much to promote. The social life has been one of the most important features in the College from its foundation to the present time, it has been the cement which has bound men to the place, and held many of them in it for all the days of their life.

Natural History Society and Field Club

In the announcement of arrangements from April to July, 1873, attention was directed to the formation of the Natural History Society and Field Club. Past and present students and teachers were invited to unite in social and friendly scientific work, for study in the Museum, or open-air rambles. By means of these walks, under the direction of competent leaders, the Society aimed at giving its members practical study of the geology about London, and the distribution, habits, and structure of plants, following the example of the field clubs in the West of England. Professor W. H. Flower was President; R. B. Litchfield, Vice-President; Ebenezer Cooke and Alfred Grugeon, Committee;

R. L. Fleming, Curator; John Fotheringham, Secretary and Treasurer, 1874, Ebenezer Cooke succeeding him in 1875. Forty-five names were on the books; meetings took place every week, and papers were read by the members—J. Slade, C. J. Savage, Alfred Grugeon, J. P. King, and Ebenezer Cooke being frequent contributors. Three or four walks took place every month, which were frequently attended by members of the Working Women's College, Miss S. Hill always being present. The club came to an end because the room was required for a class on Tuesdays, and no other room was available. At one summer conversazione a very excellent collection of grasses was exhibited, formed and named principally by Alfred Grugeon, and in the autumn some attempts at a collection of fungi were made.

Mr. John Fotheringham (now of Fawkham, Kent), one of the earliest of the College students, contributes the following in reference to the College walks between 1857 and 1862, in which fossil-hunting played an important part:—"From very early days many College men had been meeting on Sundays for walks out, at first merely for the walks, but somehow geology and

fossil-hunting were included as objects of the walks. In this, of course, Furnivall always took the lead, and many a jolly day is photographed in my mind. There were short trips to Charlton loam-pits, Woolwich, for the Lower Tertiaries, and the Thames Valley chalk pits, Caterham. Longer trips were made to the North Down escarpment of the chalk from Rochester to Guildford, and below the chalk to Merstham, for greensand and gault. What madmen all the yokels always thought us, plodding about with bags of chalk, clay, or gravel! I am quite sure if dynamite had been invented in those early days we should often have been locked up. I recollect one day we had a terrible load from the loam-pit district. We were working the brick earth, all eager to make the first find, when Dick Fleming struck a mass of fossil bones. Not a tooth nor a toe-nail would he let any one have or even carry for him. Dick was a proud man that day. On Monday he carted it all off to the British Museum for verification, and the authorities there told him gently it was a 'donkey,' which had doubtless been buried after a long and useful life hauling clay to the mills! Poor Dick did not turn up for some

time after this. Another striking day's outing was to the great chalk excavations at Chatham in 1858. On our return we were delayed at Lewisham Junction, and a train smashed into ours, killing some eight people and mutilating a larger number, in one of the old cattle-truck carriages then in use. We had all tried to get into this, but fortunately for us it filled up and we went to the front of the train. At that time Dr. Samuel Smiles was Secretary of the South-Eastern Railway, and many of us paid him a visit with a view to compensation."

Mr. Jeremiah Slade writes:—"My earliest recollections of the Working Men's College were about the autumn of 1858, when, at the invitation of Dr. Furnivall, I had tea at his rooms in Ely Place one Sunday afternoon, and there met Fotheringham, Fleming, Richard C. Taylor, Ebenezer Cooke, and others. A few days after that I gave a lecture at the College on the General Geology of England; and a reference to the programme for 1859 will show that I was put down to teach classes in geology and zoology. In order to increase the efficiency of my teaching I took the Museum in hand. I found many good specimens of rocks and fossils,

given by Mr. Ruskin and others. By the aid of friends in the British Museum I had them correctly named. When enough of this work was done, a cabinet was made, paid for by Mr. Litchfield, and the specimens arranged therein. Afterwards more specimens came to hand, and additional cabinets were made and filled. By the time the new buildings in the garden were finished and a room in them set apart for the purpose, a pretty good show of natural history specimens was on view."

In 1890 we have records in the College *Journals* of botanical walks under the guidance of that most competent of College guides, Alfred Grugeon. In March of the following year, 1892, the present Lubbock Field Club was formed, with Alfred Grugeon as President and A. E. Shurlock as Secretary. The club had the misfortune to lose its Secretary in the prime of life in 1896. He was an enthusiastic student of Nature, and entirely devoted to the College, where he did much unselfish work, and where he left many friends to mourn his untimely loss. Reference to the pages of the *Journal* will suffice to show that this club since its formation has amply justified its existence, both by

awakening and sustaining a love of the study of Nature, as well as in promoting social intercourse amongst its members and the members of the College generally. James Holloway, a worthy follower of his friend Shurlock, and an ardent student of natural science, is at present its able Secretary.

Economic and Discussion Clubs

The first debating society on record in the College was the Students' Discussion Class, started in 1871, with Professor Sheldon Amos as President, R. B. Litchfield and George Tansley as Vice-Presidents, J. D. Newton and Daniel Warde being Hon. Secretaries. The College has no record of its history.

The W.M.C. Economic Club was formed in 1889 or 1890 by some students of Sidney Webb's class interested in the study of social and political questions. Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, J. A. Hobson, David F. Schloss, and S. H. Sweeney were amongst those who opened discussions at its meetings. It had not a prolonged existence. The Economic and Debating Society, of which Mr. Presburg was Secretary,

was well supported for some three years (1896-1899), and its discussions were opened by Messrs. Theodore Ll. Davies, J. J. Dent, Armitage Smith, H. Tozer, George Bernard Shaw, H. N. Gill, and many others.

In 1900 the W.M.C. Debating Society was formed, with Mr. C. S. Colman as President and Mr. F. W. Finn as Secretary. This Society, which elects a new President and Secretary at the beginning of each session, is still active, and had debates every Tuesday evening, from 9.30 to 11, during the past session.

The Musical Society

In 1895 the W.M.C. Musical Society was formed, principally through the exertions of Messrs. Dumbrill and Banfield, to whom the College is indebted for having taken the initiative in the formation of a society which has done so much to strengthen the social life of the College, it having been the means of bringing within its walls the women folk of its members and making them known to each other. Mr. H. C. Perry for many years devoted much time and talent to the services of the Society as its

Secretary. In 1903 Mr. Perry resigned, to the regret of the members, and Mr. F. J. Nield, the present Secretary, was appointed his successor. The interests of the Society are not likely to be neglected, nor its sphere of usefulness diminished in the hands of Mr. Nield. The Musical Society and the College in general are much indebted to Mr. William Tarr, who, besides training a glee club between the hours of 10 and 12 on Monday nights, has, ever since the formation of the Society, unselfishly and unreservedly given it his whole-hearted services as accompanist at most of its concerts. The society has given several concerts to help the College Building Fund, besides others in aid of various charities.

The Old Students' Club

The formation of this club was suggested by Tansley at a supper given to John Roebuck on the occasion of one of his visits to this country from America in 1876. George Tansley was its President from that date up to the time of his death in March 1902, and he never spared any effort to make the club serve the purpose for which it was founded. Alfred Grugeon, of

botany fame, has been a Vice-President for many years, and Leonard Pocock, one of the young members of only some twenty years' standing, was elected Vice-President in 1897; H. R. Jennings, for over twenty years the esteemed Secretary of the College, was its first Hon. Secretary, succeeded by Mr. T. W. Gale, who held the post up to 1889, when the present Secretary took office. The object of the club is stated to be "to foster friendly feelings amongst past and present students of the College, and to maintain their interest in the College. The meetings of the club afford opportunities to all members of the College no longer able to attend the classes to form, keep up, or renew friendships, and to obtain information concerning the movements going on in the College." The club holds four or five meetings in the winter, and since 1876, the year of its foundation, it has had a supper on the Saturday in the second or third week in December. Tansley always made a great feature of the O.S.C. supper. He not only contributed liberally to the expenses, but took infinite pains in looking after the smallest details connected with it to ensure its success. He did

this in the belief that the annual supper was a great help to the College by attracting men who, in consequence of what they heard and saw on that occasion, became interested in the College, and were gradually drawn into it.

The loss of its President, George Tansley, in March 1902, was a great blow to the club, which, on an early date thereafter, discussed what steps should be taken to keep his memory green in the College. Mr. S. de Jastrzebski brought forward a scheme for providing scholarships and prizes for the best student or students in each College year. The result of this meeting was the starting of the Tansley Memorial Fund in January 1903, for which the sum of £424 has been subscribed, of which £224 was ear-marked for the Building Fund, for the purpose of fitting up a room to bear his name, and the balance of £200 has been paid to the College Treasurer, Mr. J. A. Forster, for investment. The income from this investment will be spent in purchasing books for prizes to be awarded to the most meritorious student or students in each College year, on the recommendation of the Studies Committee, confirmed by the Executive Committee. The Council will also

create a limited number of scholarships, to be called the Tansley Scholarships, entitling the holders to free tuition in the College.

The ordinary mode of procedure at the O.S.C. meetings is to meet at 7.45 and have a general talk for half an hour, and then a member introduces a subject for discussion. After a short interval for refreshments, the debate commences, and usually finishes by 11 o'clock.

At the present time the club has members in Persia, China, India, South Africa, Jamaica, America, Germany, Scotland, and various parts of England. In many cases subscribers to the Old Students' Club and to the College *Journal* have not seen the College or been within its walls for many years, but their interest in it remains undiminished. From 1889 to the time of his death in 1902 the President's address on the College and its doings at the opening meeting of the club was a frequent feature, and always of interest. Among the names of members who have opened subjects for discussion are those of Dr. Oswald, G. W. Fox, J. Rigby Smith, W. Rossiter, G. W. Rivers, A. B. Shaw, A. J. Chater, L. Pocock, Stephen Coombs, S. de Jastrzebski, R. J. Mure, Charles Wright, C. P. Lucas,

Spencer Holland, T. F. Hobson, J. J. Dent, H. J. Tozer, Charles Crawley, Theodore Ll. Davies, Walter Gorst Clay, Adolf Sonnenschein, G. M. Trevelyan, G. P. Gooch, A. W. Kirkaldy, and others. The club has now between 180 and 200 members.

In this account of the social life of the College the "Common Room" must have a place. It is the centre of the everyday social life, dear to many generations of College men, by whom the memory of it will be cherished, and the place itself sadly missed when the College goes north, and knows it no more. It is managed by a Committee elected by the students, under rules sanctioned by the Executive Committee of the College. It receives a Capitation Grant for every member joining the College in each term; sees to the providing of refreshments, and the supply of newspapers and periodical literature, and generally has the management of the Common Room and Coffee Room. The Common Room, with its talk, sometimes organised under a Chairman, and its singing, is a vivacious and much appreciated feature of the College.

Rifle Corps

The early history of the Volunteer movement in the College has been given by Mr. Roebuck in his Reminiscences.

It should be understood that the clubs and societies of which something has been told in the foregoing pages are only the chief of the many social organisations to which the College has given birth during its first half-century.

R. H. Marks.

THE COLLEGE AS IT IS NOW

My aim is to give an idea of the present condition of the Working Men's College by a comparison between the College of 1854 and the College of 1904.

"It is no stretch of language," wrote my friend Litchfield, "to say that in 1854 the infant Working Men's College offered working men what they had not had offered them before: it was virtually a unique institution."

What this strictly unique institution offered to working men was an academical—we might say a university—education; and, what was far more valuable than any amount of mere instruction, the opportunity for gaining the *esprit de corps*, the collegiate traditions, and the lasting friendships, which the best colleges of Oxford and Cambridge create among their undergraduates and also among the Fellows by whom the studies of the undergraduates are directed.

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[illegible] institution offered [illegible] we might [illegible] and what was far [illegible] of more instruction [illegible] the *esprit de* [illegible] the lasting [illegible] and [illegible] among their graduates [illegible] the studies [illegible]

A. V. Dicey, K. C.

The possibility of making this offer was grounded upon certain definite principles of which Maurice was the exponent, and, I might almost say, the discoverer. The need of the day was, he taught, not only the education of children belonging to the poorer classes, but also the provision, for working men who had passed the age of childhood, of the opportunity for obtaining a liberal education. There were, he felt sure, some, and, as he believed, many, workmen who ardently desired the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake, and not merely as a means of "getting on" in their trade or profession. Labour, even severe manual labour, was not, he confidently asserted, inconsistent with intellectual work during periods of rest; leisure was not a necessary condition of learning; men who had worked hard by day might, if they had not been overworked, pursue in the evening the objects of a liberal education. This education could be provided mainly by the voluntary efforts of young men fresh from the Universities, or of older men who, though engaged in professional pursuits, were willing to give part of their time to the instruction of working men ready to learn. This teaching by volunteers would need

to be supplemented by the labours of paid teachers who could not afford to give their services for nothing; but, as experience has shown, at the Universities and elsewhere, a teacher who receives fees constantly labours with a zeal which no amount of fees can repay. The instruction freely given by teachers was to be supplemented by self-help on the part of students, who should, as do undergraduates at our Universities, pay some portion of the expense of their education. The Working Men's College, further, was not to be a place for the mere delivery of lectures, but an institution where rational enjoyment, mingled with hard work and education, was mixed up with, and to a great extent derived from, the formation of friendships. These were, broadly speaking, the principles on which the Working Men's College was founded by Maurice and the companions, such as Hughes, Ludlow, Furnivall, Ruskin, Lowes Dickinson, Litchfield, and others, who shared Maurice's ideas. They are, I fully believe, in substance the principles by adherence to which the life of the College has been developed during the last fifty years.

To see that this is so let us consider two questions:—

A. *How far does the College of 1904 resemble the College of 1854?*

The subjects of study and the general scope of our collegiate teaching are substantially the same as they were fifty years ago.

Compare together the list of subjects for study mentioned in Maurice's first report with those enumerated in our last Calendar for 1903-4, and to simplify the comparison, let the whole list of 1854 be put side by side with the list of subjects studied only in the Higher Division of 1904.

Fifty years ago our students were occupied with four main topics:

1. Politics, including under that head English law, and the geography and history of England.

2. Science, under which term we must bring, *inter alia*, natural philosophy and astronomy, mechanics, the structure of the human body, chemistry, and different branches of mathematics.

3. Language and literature, including Latin, Greek, French, English grammar, the structure of English words, the study of the English poets.

4. Art, including drawing and modelling. Music at that date was not taught in the College. "The neighbourhood of Mr. Hullah's classes has induced us hitherto to abstain," says the Report, "from musical instruction, but this is an obvious defect in our scheme which we hope soon to remedy." As we all know, the defect was soon removed by the admirable teaching of Litchfield.

The scheme of education adopted at the Working Men's College in 1854 followed in the main, as it was intended to follow, the lines of teaching at our Universities. In some respects it anticipated improvements which at Oxford at least were at that date only just accepted as novel experiments.[1]

In 1904 our course of studies is wider and more extensive than it was fifty years ago; but the classics, modern languages, history, especially English history, English law, mathematics, the natural and applied sciences, the arts, such as music and the like, still form the training of the students at the Working Men's College.[2]

[1] The School of Jurisprudence and Modern History dates from 1853.

[2] Now, as fifty years ago, the College aims at giving the kind of training which is obtainable at our Universities.

Even in 1855 it had become certain that some working men would accept the offer of education which had an academical or university character, and did not make it a main object to increase their proficiency in special pursuits or professions. Fifty years have proved that this desire for a liberal education was not a transitory fashion but a permanent wish. Fifty years have also proved the truth of Maurice's discovery, that manual labour during the day is not really inconsistent with devotion to intellectual and moral studies in the evening.[1] Nor does the character of our students as regards their occupations in life appear to have changed materially during the fifty years since the foundation of the College. Half at least, I am informed, are in the strictest sense of the word working men. Many, I suppose, are clerks or engaged in the finer kinds of manual labour, but it has never been the object of the College to exclude any man who found that he could derive benefit from our teaching. The students whose occupations

[1] A recent arrangement by which men employed in the Post Office during the evening or night are enabled to attend classes at the Working Men's College during the afternoon is a novel and interesting application of Maurice's principle.

are enumerated by Maurice include skilled workmen, such, for example, as jewellers, goldsmiths, opticians, instrument-makers, engineers, and mechanists, whose work must always be of a high and intellectual character.

In nothing have the previsions of our founders been more fully justified than in the creation among students and teachers alike of a true collegiate spirit and of valuable collegiate traditions. No one with the least knowledge of the College can fail to recognise the affection with which it is regarded by its members. Many students have worked there for years; both the teaching and the management of the College are to a great extent carried on by men who have there received their education. In these matters it is easier to speak of the dead than the living; but Litchfield's long and valuable labours on behalf of the College, which ceased only when want of health made their performance an impossibility; Tansley's devotion of many of the best years of his life to the service of the College; the legacies left by Mr. Mimpriss as a sign of his affection for the College and his gratitude to teachers from whose instruction he had gained special benefit, are things that speak

for themselves, and are after all nothing but the most salient illustrations of the feelings which the College has evoked among its members. Nor do I the least doubt that our students have gained much from the friendships and the rational amusements which our founders rightly believed to form no small element of a good University education. I have shared with members of the Working Men's College the delight of a visit to Cambridge, but of the lighter aspects of our collegiate life I am less confident to speak than other persons who have contributed articles bearing on the history of the Working Men's College, and I therefore leave that subject in their hands.

The teaching of the College is now, as Maurice hoped it would be, carried out to a great extent by unpaid volunteers, recruited for the most part from young men who have taken good degrees at the Universities. In 1903 our teaching staff consisted of sixty-four persons. Of these fifty-one were volunteers, thirteen were paid teachers. Let me add that there is no difference between the two classes in zeal or in energy.

B. *How far does the College of 1904 differ from the College of 1854?*

It exists, in the first place, in a world very different in its social condition from the world of 1854, when all England was occupied with the Crimean War.

Education has spread far and wide. The Universities have been nationalised, they are no longer the property of a sect or of a class; they are certainly accessible to men whom poverty would, fifty years ago, have forbidden to study at Oxford or Cambridge. Schemes for University extension which were once dreams have become realities, and have brought the best University teachers into contact with the whole of the middle classes. Elementary education for the people has become a national concern. It is hardly conceivable that an artisan of superior intelligence should now scarcely know how to read or write. The State provides much technical training both for children and adults. A circumstance which touches very closely the fortunes of the Working Men's College is the rise of many excellent institutions which offer sound education to working men; such, for example, are the Birkbeck Institute, the City of London College, the Morley College, the Continuation Schools, the Polytechnic in Regent Street, and

Toynbee Hall. All these institutions and others do good work, though on different lines, but—and this is the important point to notice—they do a work which in Maurice's day hardly any institution except the Working Men's College attempted to perform.

The spread of education, in the next place, and its supply at the expense of the State, is an outward and visible sign of a revolution in public opinion.

In 1854 reformers laid unlimited stress upon the virtue of self-help. They hardly perceived that in a society where men did not start with equal advantages, self-help (the positive side of *laissez-faire*) was not enough to enable the mass of the people to develop their natural aptitudes and capacities and obtain their fair share of knowledge. It was the work of the Christian Socialist to convince the world that society had duties towards individuals no less than individuals towards society. In 1904 the tendency of opinion is to lay immense, some may think excessive, emphasis upon the duty of society to help its individual members. Fifty years ago the British public could not believe that the nation was bound to place a liberal education

within the reach of working men. In 1904 the English public cannot understand that a liberal education cannot be simply given or forced upon adults at the public expense as a free gift; the difficulty of the day is to convince reformers or innovators that even a gift is a two-sided transaction, and needs to be accepted by the recipient, and that you cannot bestow education upon persons who are not prepared to pay, in some form or other, a high price for the benefit; the boon of knowledge, if it is to be worth anything, requires energetic acceptance, and even self-sacrifice, on the part of the working men who receive it. The reformers, in short, of 1854 perceived and acted upon a half-truth; the reformers of 1904 have in one sense followed the example of their predecessors; they too perceive and act upon a half-truth, but it is the half of the truth the importance whereof did not fifty years ago receive full recognition. It is one of Maurice's highest virtues that he saw the truth as a whole, and recognised its clearness at once—the duty of offering education of the highest kind to every class of the community capable of receiving it, and also the necessity that the learners should exert them-

selves to accept the offer. This idea, which in his time was a new one, has from first to last governed the development of the Working Men's College. Let me now point out some specific changes which have taken place in the College.

1. Our changes of residence are noteworthy and typical. Our first home was not, as many of us fancy, in Great Ormond Street. Our earliest residence was 31 Red Lion Square, whence is dated the report of 1855. It was not till 1857 that a munificent gift of £500 from Maurice made it possible for the College to be transferred to Great Ormond Street. Our tenure of the premises in Great Ormond Street is coming to an end. We all of us regret leaving a residence which is filled with endearing traditions and associations, but the houses in Great Ormond Street did not entirely meet our wants, and it has been thought well to take advantage of an unprecedented opportunity of acquiring a new house in Crowndale Road. This change is in reality due to our increased educational need.

2. In 1854 our students numbered 145. In October 1903 they numbered 588. In 1854 the income of the College arose from fees and donations, and amounted to £389. In 1902 the

income arose from fees, donations, rents, grants from the Government and other public sources, and amounted to about £1100. This rise in income, it should be remarked, does not, even if it can be kept up, more than cover the additional expense of our educational system. In one sense this is not to be deplored, for the additional cost is caused by a rise in our standard of what is required for a good education. From another point of view, however, this increase of expenditure must cause anxiety. We must constantly remember that while the standard of education is rising throughout the country, we must, as a College, if we are not to fall behind the requirements of the day, not only keep up, but, if possible, increase our maintenance fund.

3. Though the general lines of study pursued in the College remain, as already pointed out, what they have been from the beginning, the educational mechanism of the College has become much more complicated, and is intended to cover a much wider field of study than the scheme aimed at fifty years ago. Proficiency, further, in all subjects is now tested by examinations.[1]

[1] See Calendar, pp. 60-64.

Then, again, the College is for teaching purposes now composed of four great divisions:— The Higher Division, which with its six sections, comprehends a broad scheme of sound University teaching; the Second and Third Divisions, which are intended to qualify students for taking advantage of the academical education provided for the members of the Higher Division; the Fourth or Special Division, in which teaching is given in certain special arts, such, for instance, as shorthand or book-keeping, which may in strictness be useful to the members of the College. There is no doubt that the first three divisions simply carry out the idea of our founders. They always intended to give to working men the kind of instruction which is provided at our Universities. They also contemplated the establishment of schools for adults connected with the College, and intended to prepare men for entrance into the College. Of the Fourth or Special Division I will say something later in this article.

4. The mere lapse of time has produced two natural alterations.

In 1854 all our teachers were young men. Maurice was forty-nine; Ruskin, Mansfield, and

Charles Kingsley, thirty-five; Ludlow, thirty-three; Davies, twenty-eight; Westlake, twenty-six; Litchfield, twenty-two. Though many young men now take part in our teaching, the average age of our teachers must be considerably higher than in 1854. This difference is inevitable, but to the College it is, I am convinced, a dead loss. Age may possibly give experience, but youth means hope, energy, and life.

This loss is to a certain degree balanced by a second change. Many of our teachers of to-day are what no teacher could be in 1854, persons who have been trained as students in the College.

5. Two other alterations deserve notice and require explanation.

Theological teaching does not play that part in our College education which it did under the guidance of Maurice. Much is due to circumstances which nothing can alter. Maurice was a man of genius and a theologian who influenced his age. The teaching of such a man cannot be replaced. Alterations, further, of opinions and beliefs which have marked the last fifty years might, some will think, in any case make it impossible to mingle with the general teaching

of the College the theological convictions of even the most eminent of teachers. But the extent of a change which many would deplore must not be exaggerated. The tendencies of the present day promote the study of Biblical history. The only difficulty—and it is a great one—of introducing this branch of study into the College has been to find a teacher fully suited for the work. This difficulty has been removed by the willingness of Mr. B. H. Alford to deliver a course of lectures on Biblical History. They have been welcomed and attended by our students.

Our curriculum, again, exhibits a turn towards strictly professional and technical studies, *e.g.* shorthand, modern languages, especially Spanish and the like, which was hardly contemplated by our founders. The Fourth Division, indeed, to which I have already alluded, is constituted for the sake of affording to our students knowledge of which the utility is clear.

This seems at first sight to resemble that attempt to diffuse merely useful knowledge which characterised the Mechanics Institute, and to be a departure from the spirit of our Founders, but the course of action pursued in this matter by the College is liable to be misunderstood. It

resembles the policy adopted by Oxford and Cambridge. These Universities take a far greater part than they did fifty years ago in the promotion of useful or professional study, such as the study of law, of medicine, or of geography. But neither the Universities nor the Working Men's College justify the course taken by them on the ground that they wish to help men to get on in life; its apology rests on a totally different basis. A new method of education gives expression to the belief that every kind of pursuit which involves intellectual and moral training may be followed in a scientific spirit, and thus become a branch of liberal education. Many eminent teachers have come to see that the matter of importance is far less what is the particular kind of knowledge taught than the spirit in which it is taught. The opposition between utility and science turns out to be unreal. It should be remembered that students who learn shorthand or Spanish, learn also much besides, and imbibe in any case the collegiate spirit and collegiate traditions. Still, it is a matter of fair doubt whether, now that many institutions, in London at any rate, provide admirable technical instruction, the College

would not act wisely in reverting more closely to the practice of its founder, and whilst giving students opportunities for learning, *e.g.*, short-hand, turn its efforts mainly towards promoting that kind of instruction which may fairly be called academical. The teaching of the Humanities should always be the main object of the Working Men's College.

If, however, the force of circumstances, and the different character of the present age from the times in which the College was founded, have produced alterations or even innovations, it nevertheless remains true that the aims of the College are in 1904 the same as they were in 1854. Our students are working men; our teachers are members of the Universities or of different liberal professions. Many of them have been brought up at the College. The Working Men's College unites together different classes in the common work of teaching and learning. It provides teaching, and not mere instruction, at the smallest possible cost; the teachers are for the most part unpaid volunteers. The College tries, in short, to place, and does place, a liberal education within the reach of working men. It is grounded on the invaluable

combination of self-help and mutual aid. It is still, and we trust will always remain, in its fundamental principles the Working Men's College founded by Maurice and the friends and followers of Maurice. A. V. DICEY.

THE COLLEGE EDUCATION

WHILE the general level of education in the country has risen immensely during the last fifty years, the chief practical problems to be solved in the studies of the College remain very much what they were when it was founded. They are two: that of the students and that of the teachers.

The problem as regards the students is how to give a liberal education to men very many of whom join merely in order to make themselves more efficient in their trades, and hardly know or care what education means. We have undoubtedly to give what men demand; otherwise they will not come at all. Arithmetic, grammar, and foreign languages are especially such subjects. Happily it is possible, while teaching each of these subjects practically, to render it at the same time educational; that is, to make it give a good mental training. An intelligent

teacher will render his pupil not merely acquainted with the subject of his study, but master of it.

A more serious difficulty arises from irregular attendance, due very often to press of work. As Christmas approaches men have to work overtime, and classes accordingly dwindle. This is partly met by the beginners' classes starting in January, which those can enter who have fallen too far behind, partly by our system of home-work. Men are strongly urged to do home-work papers for their classes, and these papers can, when the students are absent, be sent in to be corrected by the teachers. It is indeed only by working at home that men can gain the full advantage of class teaching, the success of which can be very fairly measured by the number and quality of the weekly papers prepared. For mere passive receptivity can never lead to knowledge; active work is required of learners.

The problem as regards the teachers has been to obtain efficient modern teaching from men many of them young, inexperienced, and amateurs. On the other hand, it may be urged —though educationalists sometimes lose sight of the fact—that training and system are not

everything in teaching; that a system adapted to boys is not necessarily suitable for men; and that the important part of systematic teaching is the gradual unfolding of a subject—making sure of each step before the next is taken. Everybody who has taught the same subject for years realises how hard it is to avoid the deadening effect of routine and other faults summed up by the word "pedantry." Young men are fresh, and remember their own difficulties in learning; they are apt to be dissatisfied with old methods, and are quick to take hints from new books and other teachers. Further, professional teachers have little time for looking over home-work, and for that especially valuable task of "helping lame dogs over the stile." Our "amateurs" have almost invariably done their work loyally and earnestly, and many of them have brought to it an enthusiasm that is apt to be caught by their pupils.

Two interesting experiments in enlarging the scope of the College have had but a limited duration. Of these the first was an energetic attempt made in 1886 to arrange classes in outlying parts of London. Working men's clubs and other institutes were induced to allow

teachers, supplied by the College, to hold classes once or twice a week in their rooms. We had the strong support of the Club and Institute Union, and at first many of the classes were well attended. But it was found difficult to obtain regular study in clubs whose object was, and is, chiefly recreative. Even when there was a partial success, there was lacking the stimulus given by a variety of classes dealing with many branches of knowledge and offering a wide choice to the student. The ultimate failure of these extension classes was a fresh proof of the value of collegiate life.

The other experiment was the working arrangement with the College for Men and Women in Queen Square, originally an offshoot of our own College. This was brought about by the action of the Trustees of the City Parochial Charities, who in 1887 made an annual grant of £400 to a joint Committee of the two Colleges. Lectures and certain classes were, as a condition, to be thrown open to students of both Colleges, so as to economise teaching power and add to efficiency. This applied chiefly to classes in the higher subjects, the elementary ones being too large to be increased. Only a limited use was

made of this advantage; but our teachers found some of their best and hardest workers to be women, whose eagerness gave, by the sense of competition, an additional stimulus to the men. The Trustees had no doubt in view a possible future amalgamation of the two Colleges, and a union, indeed, was more than once discussed. But the two Colleges could not see eye to eye. It may be that our neighbour's conception of co-education diverged too far from ours of simple education. But it was rather in regard to the question of social life—which could not but be very different in a mixed college—that the most serious difficulty was felt. At any rate, the project of amalgamation fell through, whereas the working arrangement lasted till 1901, when the College for Men and Women ceased to exist.

The scheme of studies has remained in its chief features very much as it was fixed by the Studies Committee of 1885. The classes are divided into four main divisions—the Higher (subdivided into sections), Lower, Preparatory, and Special. Each group is under a member of the present Studies Committee, which has taken up the work carried on single-handed at the end

of his life by Mr. Tansley. The Director of each section (so he is styled) arranges the classes, inspects them, and ensures that they are examined. He is also ready to advise any student as to his course of study. Students may enter in any division, but care is taken that they shall not enter a class for which they have not adequate preliminary knowledge, and that they shall pass upwards as they make progress.

To take first the Preparatory Division. Here enter men who have practically forgotten most of what they learnt at school. It was once our hope that we might be able to dispense with this elementary work, and the day seemed near when the Board School Evening Continuation classes were established. But the time has has not yet come. For men are unwilling to learn with boys, especially when they may feel bashful about their own ignorance. And as long as boys are taken young from school, we must expect many to forget what they have learnt, and only when they are adult to awake to their own shortcomings. I visited recently the classes of the Berliner Handwerker-Verein, an institution in some ways resembling our College, and found there one class learning simple addition. I was

told that no inconsiderable number came there, having forgotten all the arithmetic they had ever learnt at school. That this takes place in Germany, before whose educational pre-eminence we are used to bow down, was, shall I say, just a little comforting. The teaching in the Preparatory Division has been almost entirely in the hands of old or present students of the College, the latter continuing their studies at the same time. Students are encouraged to attend four nights a week. Two of these four are devoted to reading, writing, and spelling. Arithmetic — beginning with numeration — is taught according to lessons worked out by Mr. Tansley in great detail and with careful consideration for the difficulties of beginners. They form an admirable introduction to rational arithmetic. The grammar teacher, too, has the aid of outline lessons. Students should pass through this division in one, or at most two, terms. Examinations are held at the end of each term. According to their results, students are advised either to continue in the division or to pass on to the next.

The two main subjects of the Lower Division are again arithmetic and grammar, for both of

which there are usually large entries. One October term—some ten or twelve years ago—saw a beginners' arithmetic class of ninety and a grammar class of sixty, not to mention more advanced classes in the same subjects. The arithmetic course lasts for two years, the grammar for one. There is a first stage examination halfway through each course. Only those who pass continue, as a rule, in the same class; the others are sent down to one less advanced. We aim at having a beginners' class each October and each January, so that men can join at whichever date is more convenient. In arithmetic, teachers have again the advantage of being able to use Mr. Tansley's lessons, the result of many years' experience gained at the College by one who had a genius for teaching. These lessons have the supreme merit of insisting that pupils shall understand thoroughly every step of the work, so that the study of arithmetic, while serving a practical end, becomes also a very efficient training in elementary mathematics. Grammar, too, is taught by modern methods, and is made to afford a logical discipline that should be of value. It is not easy to induce University men to teach these two subjects, especially English grammar,

which has been omitted from their own education and requires very careful handling. Yet the assistance of such teachers would be especially useful, as they would approach the studies with large views and be able to keep abreast with advances in educational method, which have happily been rapid of late years.

The systematic study of English history has rarely been popular with us. It may be that most men, unaware of the need of a guide through the mazes of history, think they can read it by themselves—and do not read it; it may be too that many men really think—though they would not confess it in so many words—that nothing that happened before 1832 has more than an academic interest. Short courses on special periods under specially qualified teachers have been more successful. It is to these courses that we must look for building up and extending the study of history.

The geography class has been recruited largely from men anxious to enter the Post Office, or to gain other places in the Civil Service. Here too men will in time awaken to a sense of their needs.

In the Higher Division the subjects are, of

course, far more varied. We may begin with English literature, which has grown steadily in favour. There has for many years been no attempt made to lecture, to give that superficial knowledge of the names of authors and books which so often passes for English literature. Some author, generally a poet, is taken; and one or more of his works is read over and studied closely. The teacher's aim is that the students should read intelligently and carefully, with some comprehension of the scope of a great work and appreciation of its beauties. The ground covered in a year can be but small. But the habit of scholarly reading once acquired can be applied by the pupils to any book, and so become a lasting gain to them. Our newly-founded Home Reading Society should serve to strengthen this habit while giving wider field for its exercise.

There has been during the last session an interesting addition to the English teaching—a Bible class held on Sundays late in the afternoon. It will be remembered by those who have read the Life of Mr. Maurice how important a feature his Bible class was in the early days of the College. After his death the class was

continued, but gradually dwindled away. The subject was neglected for many years, except for one solitary course of lectures on Old Testament history and literature, treated in a modern way and followed by a closer reading of Isaiah. But it has been felt that the study of the Bible has, to say the least, a part in every liberal education, and that our students' acquaintance with that great literature is of the slightest. The teaching now given is distinctly modern and devoid of all theological bias. It is hoped that what has been a tentative may become a permanent feature in the College programme.

Another useful experiment has been a course on "Methods of Teaching," which has been especially appreciated by our student teachers, whose work it will doubtless assist.

English composition is a subject to which many grammar students look forward, one of their chief objects in taking up the latter study being that they may be able to write good English. There is in England unhappily no recognised system of teaching composition—an art of which the practice has indeed been woefully neglected. Our teachers are seriously hampered by the need of working out their own method.

But steady good work has been done in this subject for many years.

The study of economics has had but a fitful success. Special teachers—especially those who had advanced political views—have drawn large classes. But as a rule the study has languished in the College, as it has outside.

The main object of the law classes has been to give men such a knowledge of law as "most concerns English citizens." Such a course was that given by the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton (now Secretary of State for the Colonies), "explaining, illustrating, and testing the principle that 'All men are subject to the law.'" Such too are the special courses given on Thursday evenings, in which the Principal treats subjects of wide interest such as the Combination Laws. The College, being situate near the legal district, has always had among its pupils a number of solicitors' clerks. Some attempt has been of late years made to cater for these by classes in more technical parts of the study of law.

The Latin classes in the College have been generally successful. At the beginning of the current Academic year—1903-1904—the entries were as many as forty. The objects of Latin

students vary considerably. Not a few have been compositors who wished their work to be intelligent; and these have been amongst the most eager learners, and have attained some degree of scholarship. One such emigrated to South Africa, and after serving in the war, returned to teach a Latin class in the College. In the interval, he had read through the twelve books of the *Aeneid*. Others take the class with a view to passing some examination. Among these are generally two or three who intend to enter the ministry. Such students, when they require it, are given individual coaching in this as in other subjects, and have been occasionally sent up to the University. Old students of the Working Men's College may be found impartially in the ministry of most denominations. The authors that are being read at present are Livy, *Second Punic War*; Cicero, *Pro Archia*; and Virgil, *Second Georgic*.

Greek has rarely attracted many students, and therefore the members of the Greek class have been able to obtain practically individual teaching. Among books at present being read are the *Gospel of St. John*, Xenophon's *Hiero*, Plato's *Apology*, and Thucydides, Book II.

This will make it clear that the quality of the work done compensates somewhat for the smallness of the numbers.

The modern language classes have always drawn considerable numbers. At one time, some thirty or forty years ago, when they had achieved so much success under the able and zealous teaching of Dr. Oswald that they threatened to overshadow the other classes, it is said that there was some thought of abolishing them as not sufficiently "liberal." Happily no such narrow conception prevailed. Of those who learn modern languages many are, of course, clerks, who very properly wish to become more efficient in their daily work; but there is also a considerable number of artizans who have no such aim.

The French teacher has adopted the "Charlin" method, which trains pupils in translating into French and leads quickly to conversing in the language. At the end of the first year students can already translate a moderately difficult text and speak a little. In the second year considerably further progress is made in the same direction. Systematic grammar is postponed to the third year, when French composition is

practised and a beginning made of the serious study of French literature.

The number of students of German has of late years steadily increased; and still more the number of those who have made considerable progress in it. German is taught as a living language, which students begin to talk after a very few months; while in the advanced class some of the great classics are studied. Last year advantage was taken of the visit of a German theatrical company to London: a play was read whose performance the class afterwards attended. Another entertaining outcome of the class was a "Kommers" or German sing-song.

The Spanish class has been attended entirely by clerks, and has been therefore severely practical in its methods. The Italian class, on the other hand, consists mostly of older men, desirous of reading the Italian classics. It is taught by an Italian, himself a student of the College.

The study of these languages is aided greatly by subsidiary classes—"Practice Classes" they are termed. These have been well attended and most serviceable, giving men many more opportunities of talking and also of reading French,

German, and Spanish than they would have in the regular class. The teachers are students—past or present—of the College, men who are likely to understand and sympathise with the difficulties which they have experienced. Two of these Practice Class teachers were recently elected to the degree of Honorary Fellow of the College — Mr. R. A. Read having taught for thirty-one, and Mr. J. Dale for twenty years.

In this connection may be mentioned a very old feature of the College—the classes in English for foreigners. Frenchmen, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Russians, Italians are all to be found in them. The classes are divided into two sections —French-speaking and German-speaking; and the aim of the teachers—who have to be most flexible in their methods—is to pass their men on as speedily as possible to the grammar and other classes. For many of these students it is possible to arrange conversation with Englishmen to their mutual advantage. It is not only that each is helped to acquire a second language; but also intercourse in the Common Room with natives of another country widens men's horizon and tends to correct many of their prejudices.

Mathematics steadily attract a certain number

of students who find satisfaction in an exact and laborious study, in which the knowledge attained is of indisputable certitude. As a rule, only geometry and algebra are taught; but individual pupils have received assistance in much more advanced branches. Elementary mechanics have been added occasionally, and are useful in helping scientific students to gain some familiarity with mathematical conceptions. The lack of mathematical training has been often felt by the students of electricity, etc., so that the experiment has been tried of teaching practical mathematics for science students.

The scientific side of the College has never been developed equally with the literary, partly, no doubt, because when the College was founded science was everywhere unduly neglected. Yet it has long been conceded that the study of science forms a very important part of education, and the Working Men's College, like other institutions, has fully recognised this fact. It is merely theory, however, that we have attempted to teach. We have never been in a position to give technical instruction, but have left this instruction to technical institutions which make it their special aim. We have suffered, too, from in-

adequate equipment, but this will be remedied, we hope, in our new building. Even as it is, very genuine scientific study has been carried on.

The branch of science that has had with us the most uniform and enduring success has been botany. This is in a very great degree due to one of those students of whom the College has every reason to be proud; not that it produced them —for that it could not—but that it gave them their scope and opportunity. Alfred Grugeon, whom we happily still see occasionally at our gatherings, was one of the early students. A wood-turner in his working day, he was in his leisure a naturalist of singular acquirements and of a rare enthusiasm. He joined the College in 1860, and was already teaching botany in 1862 when he gained his teacher's certificate, and continued teaching till 1869. After a long interval he resumed his old position in 1885, and continued in it till 1892; and, as he writes, "I did so with gratifying results, for I now got help from those who received it from me." He never used a text-book, and but few diagrams, but in plain words, lit up by a racy humour, explained as no book could the processes of vegetable life, till his pupils thoroughly grasped

them. Not only did they understand, they were bitten by his own passion for botany. To his pupils he was a man by himself, such a teacher as could never again be found. It may be inferred that his was not a teaching to make a display in examinations. Yet within a very few years the Queen's Prize at South Kensington was gained by three of his pupils, one of whom is his successor at the College to-day.

There is now much more microscope work done than in the old days. Of the two and a half hours that the lesson lasts, one and a half are given to the microscope. The student has, in fact, to teach himself, while the teacher is at hand to explain the difficulties that he encounters. This is slow work, but undoubtedly sound, and the result, as tested by examination, has been most satisfactory. In 1902 ten men sat for the Board of Education examination and all passed. A still more satisfactory sign is that the old passion for botany continues. The Sunday walks of the Field Club both serve as an auxiliary to the class and keep up a good old College tradition.

Physiology is more exclusively a laboratory subject, and has therefore attracted only the

keenest of the naturalists. For them it has been most valuable, though it has never exercised such a fascination as botany. Geology is a comparatively new study at the College; or rather it has been revived under the charge of an old student, who has provided his class with admirable diagrams of his own drawing, and made available the large collection of minerals stored in the Museum. In electricity we feel most heavily the competition of the Polytechnics with their well-equipped laboratories; but the classes, though small, have been good, and do excellent practical work.

It was not to be expected that our Art teaching would remain permanently at the high level of fifty years ago. There has been no second Ruskin; nor have we a Rossetti, a Burne-Jones, or a Lowes Dickinson to give such demonstrations as are told of in the earlier pages of this history. To the poetry has succeeded the prose. We conform more to the Board of Education requirements, which, it will be allowed, have been greatly improved in the last quarter of a century. On these lines good and varied work is done both in drawing and in design; and the newly-started Sketching Club helps to cultivate originality.

The music classes, singing and violin, have unfortunately to be restricted to Saturday evenings; as, however harmonious in themselves, their sounds do not accord well with more "serious" studies. The classes have suffered from this cause; but a brighter era is promised in the new College, which will have a sound-proof music room. This is all the more satisfactory, as music has become increasingly attractive; and the success of the Glee Club bids us hope that we may revive the glories of Mr. Litchfield's singing class.

The Special Division is one adapted particularly to clerks. While the subjects taught in it have never been the foremost feature in the College programme, it has long been recognised that they attract many men who pass on to more educational subjects, and also that they keep our students from going outside to obtain instruction that they need. Of these subjects shorthand has been uniformly taught by our own students, who offer a variety of classes suitable to men who are at various stages of progress. Book-keeping has been steadily successful under a professed teacher. Not only book-keeping in the narrow sense of the term is taught, but also the nature

of commercial processes, the use of commercial documents, and in the advanced class mercantile, manufacturing, and company accountancy. In fact, a good mercantile training is given.

The classes included in the foregoing account numbered in October 1903 no less than sixty-four. It is in them that the main work of teaching is done, by question and answer written and spoken, in which teacher and taught take part together. In addition, there are certain short courses of lectures given on Thursday evenings of a more directly educational character than the popular Saturday single lectures. Those on legal subjects by the Principal have been already mentioned. Among other courses during the last few years may be named "Recent Industrial Developments in Germany and America," "India," "The English in Egypt," "The Origin of Life," and "The Legend of Helen."

A word must be said about examinations. These are not more popular with our teachers and students than they are elsewhere. Nor have we the means of putting pressure on our men to sit. Yet the College has always attached a great importance to examinations, seeing in them a security against the danger of dilettantism.

Papers, of which specimens may be seen in the Calendar, are set generally twice in each course by outside examiners. Certificates are granted to those who obtain 60 per cent of the marks, and are marked "excellent" if 75 per cent is obtained—a standard surely not too easy. Various College grades are conferred—"Senior Student," "Associate," and "Fellow"—the last only to those who have crowned their study by teaching for at least eight terms. It is a degree of which any man may well be proud. Those who have attained it have deserved well of the College.

At the same time, students have been encouraged to sit for outside examinations—in science and art for those of South Kensington; in languages and commercial subjects for those of the Society of Arts and the London Chamber of Commerce. There have in the last few years been special classes that prepare for the University of London Matriculation Examination, the College having steadily aimed at connecting itself with that central body. The great difficulty for men who can only devote a short leisure to study, is passing in several very different subjects at the same time. It is to be hoped that before long the University may be

able to modify this rule in favour of evening students, and allow them to take the Matriculation Examination in parts, even if they cannot give them the full certificate.

It has been suggested that the College may hold joint examinations with other bodies carrying on evening education. There are various practical difficulties in carrying out this suggestion, but if they can be surmounted an additional value will be given to certificates, and a beginning will be made of a co-operation valuable to all the institutions concerned. When the College has settled in its new building it will be more at leisure to take up such a scheme.

Such is an outline of the educational work attempted by the College at the present day. It will be asked, Does it realise the founder's vision? I would reply that no vision, however inspired, is realised except in part and in a sense differing somewhat from the original intention. The result of education may be summed up in the blunt yet pregnant aphorism: "The fool sees not the same tree that the wise man sees." It is education—literary or philosophic, scientific or artistic—that enables a man to see with the eyes of the wise and yet

with his own eyes. For a portion, if not great, at any rate considerable, of those who have studied at the College some plot of the vast field of knowledge has been lit up and made visible once for all. For a portion only, no doubt. Yet what school, however successful, what University, can claim more?

> Have you not seen shop-painters paste
> Their gold in sheets, then rub to waste
> Full half, and lo, you read the name?

So it is with all education. Of the remaining students some were scarcely in earnest or not aware what learning means, others have been torn away by stress of work, some have their intellectual joints stiffened by age and disuse, some carry away a mere fragment of knowledge. To those who have honestly and seriously striven to study in a leisure very often scanty, and in spite of obstacles of which more favoured men have little conception, to such men honour is due. And when all is said, it is not merely the achievement that counts—is not the strenuous endeavour itself a training?

L. JACOB.

THE NEW HOME OF THE COLLEGE

It may be of interest to the friends and former members of the Working Men's College to review briefly the circumstances that have led the College authorities to decide upon giving up the old home in Great Ormond Street and removing to a new building which is to be erected in a different neighbourhood upon a newly-acquired site. The idea of removal is not of recent origin, but until lately it was little more than an occasional aspiration, outside the domain of practical politics. In November 1886, when we were passing through a period of depression in relation both to our income and the number of our students, a special Committee was appointed by the Council to "inquire into the financial position of the College." This Committee, of which Mr. H. M. Lindsell, of the Education Department of the Privy Council, was Chairman, presented in the following May a

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detailed Report, which dealt generally with the position and prospects of the College, including the question of a change of locality. After referring, among other things, to the diminished number of students, the inconvenience of the class-rooms in the back garden, and the secluded character of Great Ormond Street, the Report expressed a decided opinion that, notwithstanding "the undoubted risk that would be run by breaking with the present associations and traditions, entailing at first possible loss of students, and still more of voluntary teachers," it would be desirable, "when financially possible, to select another situation for the College."

In the next two or three years, however, our circumstances changed for the better. In 1889 an appeal for donations was made which met with a generous response from some friends of the College, and pressing difficulties were temporarily removed. After first trying the experiment of a small increase in the fees, and finding that the effect was a diminution in the number of students, the Council adopted a lower and simpler scale; and at the same time more money and individual effort were devoted to the work of advertising. Many students volunteered

their assistance, and distributed notices and term programmes, in the early September mornings, outside railway stations and in places where possible students were likely to be found. The result of this action was that, notwithstanding its comparatively secluded situation, the College became much more widely known, and the classes rapidly filled. In the October term of 1889 there were 875 individual students, and 1110 class entries, a number which exceeded all previous records. The accession of numbers brought into still stronger relief the inadequacy of the College buildings. Our borders were proved to be too narrow for us. The social rooms were overcrowded, and the class-rooms turned into congested districts, though the basement and every available space were brought into use. But at first the College did not aspire to a new building. It was only proposed that we should take into occupation the next-door house, No. 44, which was the property of the College, but was let to a tenant. Even this step, though at first sight it appeared a modest one, would have sacrificed income and involved expenditure to an extent that was prohibitive. Our work is not, and cannot be, conducted on commercial lines. The

fees paid by a student amount to about a fourth of his cost to the College, so that no increase in fees would have been sufficient to make good the increased outgoings entailed by the occupation of a second house. A narrow income confined us to an inadequate home, and we were left to face the *res angusta domi* as best we could.

In the following years the pressure for space was not so great. The overcrowding had perhaps worked its own cure by keeping away some students who found the place uncomfortable and may have gone elsewhere.

In 1892 a sum of £255 a year—which was our share of an annuity of £400 allotted by a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners for division between this College and the College for Men and Women in Queen Square—first became payable. This payment enabled us to avoid the constant recurrence of deficits from which we formerly suffered, and to carry on the work of education in a manner to which in the "sixties" no exception would probably have been taken. But it did not place us in a position to look forward to an extension of the usefulness of our institution or to a development of its system in any direction requiring additional outlay. And

in the meantime another consideration had been pressing itself upon us. There was not only the difficulty of administering the College on its original lines, and with its existing standard of efficiency, but there was the further question whether, in view of the other institutions which were rising on all sides, and of the far higher standard that had been generally demanded, the College could hope to live—at least, without changing the character of its work, and setting up aims very different from those which it had hitherto pursued. In the days when the College was founded it was breaking new ground to attempt to place any semblance of a liberal education within the reach of adult artisans. When the College entered into this undeveloped field, its early difficulties were those of a trader introducing a commodity for which a demand had scarcely arisen, and the part it had to play was that of a pioneer. But pioneers hope to be followed, and must expect to find that some among their followers will become their competitors. As the years passed, the demand both for technical education and for education in the wider sense continued to increase. Technical Institutes were founded.

The old "Polytechnic" in Regent Street was acquired by Mr. Quintin Hogg in 1882, and converted into a place of education, which, retaining its old name, achieved great success, and has served as a model for close imitation in other quarters of London. Then came the Society for the Extension of University Teaching; the Technical Education Board, endowed, in 1890, with its share of the spirits and beer duties; and the Evening Continuation classes of the London School Board, supported by the Metropolitan rates.

Was it then to be assumed that the College, having initiated a good work and set an example which had been followed by other and more modern agencies, had come to the end of its own part, and had no future before it, but to see its work distributed among other institutions, and to resign itself to a dignified euthanasia? So unhopeful a view did not meet with acceptance.

It was indeed undeniable that there was some overlapping, some competition with other institutions, and that with regard to the machinery of education the standard of requirements had risen appreciably. But the competition was only partial. No other body worked on altogether similar lines. The Birkbeck Institute had a

somewhat higher scale of fees and carried its education to higher stages. It drew its students more from the commercial sections of the community; its classes were open equally to women and men, and there was, at least under the roof of the Institute itself, less development of the social side of student life. In the Polytechnics the average age of admission was lower, and the technical branches of instruction predominated over the liberal. In the majority of cases the connection with Oxford and Cambridge, which had always been an essential element in our system, was absent. The College therefore still retained characteristics that differentiated it from cognate institutions. It continued to attract students to its class-rooms, though the numbers were subject to fluctuations; and of these students many had become attached to the college and had maintained their connection with it as volunteer teachers, hon. secretaries of clubs, and in other similar capacities, long after their attendance at classes had ceased. In the wide arena of London the College had still a part to play. Its admitted deficiencies in accommodation and equipment were not irremediable, and an effort at improvement could be made.

Again the idea of selling the Great Ormond Street property rose to the surface. Negotiations took place in 1896 between the College, the Children's Hospital, and another adjoining hospital in Great Ormond Street, but had no practical result. The idea of selling was for the time superseded by the idea of enlargement and improvement on our own site, for which money had to be raised. In the same year, 1896, an appeal for a Building and Maintenance Fund was set on foot—the appeal which is still alive with its objects not yet fully accomplished.

The task of the Committee, formed to conduct the appeal, was an uphill one. Three of the City Companies, and some of the tried friends of the College, responded liberally to this appeal; but it was impossible to awaken in the outside public any very active interest in an institution like the College; the times were not favourable; there were frequent Mansion-House subscriptions; the war which began in 1899 absorbed public attention, and it became evident that in the absence of some unexpected windfall, the labours of the Appeal Committee would be prolonged for a good many years.

In the year 1901 the unexpected windfall

arrived. Mr. W. D. Mimpriss, a jeweller in Davies Street, Berkeley Square, who had formerly been a student of the College, and had retained his feeling of attachment to the place, died, leaving to the College a legacy of £1000, and a share of his residuary estate, making together a bequest of between £5000 and £6000.

It was considered that a commencement of work was now justifiable. Plans which provided for some additional buildings in the back garden, and for taking No. 44 into occupation, were prepared by Mr. W. D. Caröe, and approved by the Council. The specification was drawn up, and tenders for the work were on the point of being invited, when the kaleidoscope received a turn, and a changed set of circumstances had to be taken into consideration. Towards Christmas 1902, it was publicly announced that Mr. W. W. Astor had placed in the hands of trustees a sum of £50,000 for the purpose of providing the Children's Hospital with an out-patients' department, of which it stood greatly in need. Early in the following year a proposal to reopen the question was received from the Hospital. The College, or, to speak more strictly, the Working Men's College

Corporation, entered into negotiations with the trustees appointed by Mr. Astor, and an agreement was entered into under which the Corporation was to sell its Great Ormond Street property to the trustees, conditionally upon its being able to secure, within a certain specified time, another site which in the opinion of the Council should be a suitable one. The search for a building plot was at once proceeded with, and after a considerable number had been passed under review, the site in Crowndale Road, St. Pancras, was chosen as being upon the whole the most advantageous. The decision to purchase was not arrived at until after much debate. It was not without searchings of heart that the resolve was taken to give up the house in which for more than a generation the work had been carried on, and to try the experiment of transplantation to a different soil. Many members of the Council, who thought the step a wise one in view of the future prospects of the institution, were reluctant, as a matter of sentiment, to leave the quiet street, the interesting eighteenth-century houses, and to break with the associations that had begun to cluster like ivy round the College. It was not only a new and un-

mellowed building to which we were to go, but it was a new and somewhat different neighbourhood. The migration was from south of the Euston Road to the north of it, and it was feared that the College would become a local institution instead of a central one. On the other hand, it was considered that the opportunity of selling in equally favourable circumstances was one not likely to occur again, and was too good to be rejected. The Great Ormond Street scheme, with its proposed block of buildings in the back garden, was only a makeshift method of dealing as best we could with an inherently inconvenient site, but it would, so far as we could see ahead, have bound us permanently to the spot. It would have almost exhausted our Building and Maintenance Fund, so slowly and laboriously collected; and even if a purchaser were again found ready to pay the same price, the College would then have very little in its exchequer, except that price, wherewith to go out into the world and seek for a new establishment.[1] The process of carrying out the resolu-

[1] In the end, at a meeting of the Council held on July 21, 1903, it was resolved to sell the Great Ormond Street property and to acquire the site in Crowndale Road.

tion was somewhat prolonged. As sellers we had to amend our Memorandum of Association with the sanction of the High Court; as buyers we had to treat with three sets of vendors, each with their separate advisers. Every obstacle race, however, has its goal-post, and at length the sale of our own property was completed, the leasehold interests which we found existing in Crowndale Road were bought up and surrendered to the freeholder, Lord Camden, and a contract was executed by him to grant a lease of 999 years to the Corporation as soon as the new College is built.

As the crow flies, the new site is about a mile to the north, and half a mile to the west, of Great Ormond Street. It is little more than two miles from the centre, if London be imagined as a circle the centre of which would be in Smithfield or its immediate vicinity. But if we regard London as elliptical and having two centres, Crowndale Road is much less than two miles from the western centre, which might be placed somewhere about Soho Square. It has long ceased to be suburban, the great brick-covered region stretching far beyond to the northward; and it lies in a neighbourhood much

of which is industrial and likely to furnish students to a college for working men. It is near the Railway Clearing House and three of the chief railway terminuses. The neighbourhood is already easily accessible, and is an improving one. Eversholt Street, which comes out close to the site, is in a direct line with the new Kingsway; and there will be a straight route leading from St. Clement's in the Strand to Holborn, and then through Southampton Row, Woburn Place, Seymour Street, and Eversholt Street into Crowndale Road.

The tramways in Hampstead Road on the one side running to the top of Tottenham Court Road, and in St. Pancras on the other running to the bottom of Gray's Inn Road, are both close at hand.

The electric tube railway from Charing Cross to Hampstead, now in course of construction, runs under the Hampstead Road, and is likely to have a station near the Cobden statue.

The piece of land acquired by the College contains between 14,000 and 15,000 superficial feet, and lies at the angle of Crowndale Road and Camden Street, having a frontage of about 170 feet on the former, and about 94 feet on

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

THE NEW HOME AT CROWNDALE ROAD, ST. PANCRAS

the latter. Though not very large, it is, in the language of the auction room, an open and commanding site; and the new building, which on the south, or, to be more exact, south-south-east, is to look over the gardens of St. Matthew's Church and of Oakley Square, will lack neither air nor light. The plans have been prepared by Mr. Caröe, the architect of the College, and though we have been obliged by financial reasons to prune and clip the estimates, we shall be able to offer ample and greatly improved accommodation to a much greater number of students than we have ever received in Great Ormond Street. There will be a large library, two laboratories, a gymnasium, and what we now often feel the want of, a hall capable of holding with comfort an audience of three hundred.

The style of architecture adopted in the design is to some extent that of the early Georgian houses in Great Ormond Street, but with many modifications that are appropriate in a structure designed for a college and not for a private residence.

On the afternoon of Saturday, July 16, a brilliant summer's day, the first stone was placed in position by the Prince of Wales, with some

ceremony and state. The Princess of Wales came with the Prince, and they were received by a guard of honour drawn from the 1st Volunteer battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, a battalion representing, with some change of title, a Middlesex battalion, formed in the early years of the Volunteer movement, which at one time drew a large proportion of its recruits from the College students, and in the organisation and maintenance of which "Tom Hughes" took a leading part. The municipal authorities of St. Pancras attended officially, and there was a numerous gathering of those connected with the College, or interested in its aims—friends and supporters, teachers and other workers, students present and past.

On the platform were four of those who, just fifty years ago, had stood with Frederick Denison Maurice, and had aided him when the idea of establishing a college for working men first began to take shape—Mr. Lowes Dickinson, Professor Westlake, Mr. Ludlow, and Dr. Furnivall. The only other survivor among those recognised as "founders," Mr. Llewelyn Davies, was almost at the last moment prevented by reasons of health from attending. There were

also, amongst those on the platform, Sir F. Maurice, eldest son of the chief founder, and Mrs. Thomas Hughes, the widow of his most ardent coadjutor.

The actual building operations have now begun, and it is hoped, if not expected, that we shall be able to enter into at least partial occupation by Michaelmas 1905.

The spirit that lived in the old home should be sturdy enough to bear the migration to a new one. Some of the College possessions, which may serve as lares and penates, will accompany us. Two or three handsome old mantelpieces will be excepted from the sale of the houses, and will form visible mementoes. We shall carry over the memorial tablet to Charles Crawley, and of course the pictures and busts, the library books, and the furniture. It has been proposed to designate certain rooms, or parts of the College, by the names of some of the founders, or by those who have followed in their footsteps.

It would be beyond the scope of this brief sketch to enter into the vexed question of modern education. It is not claimed that we have conclusively solved any difficult problem, or that it would be desirable to adjust all other

educational institutions for working men to our model. The part to be played is only one amongst many others, but it has been found to be a useful one. The College, in its new home, is not intended to be an institute for merely technical instruction, nor a place attracting so large a body of students that its social life would be swamped by numbers; nor, again, a small and imperfect imitation of the wealthier and better equipped establishments known as "Polytechnics." But it will, we hope, be a college where, whilst it is fully recognised that the student must seek a vocation in some way directly remunerative, and that to the stress of circumstances projects of general cultivation must often give way, he will be able to acquire some store of those mental resources which are so invaluable to fall back upon in many contingencies of life, and at the same time to find an influence helping to keep him zealous as a worker, loyal as a citizen, and faithful as a friend.

R. J. MURE,

Chairman of the Appeal and Building Committees.

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